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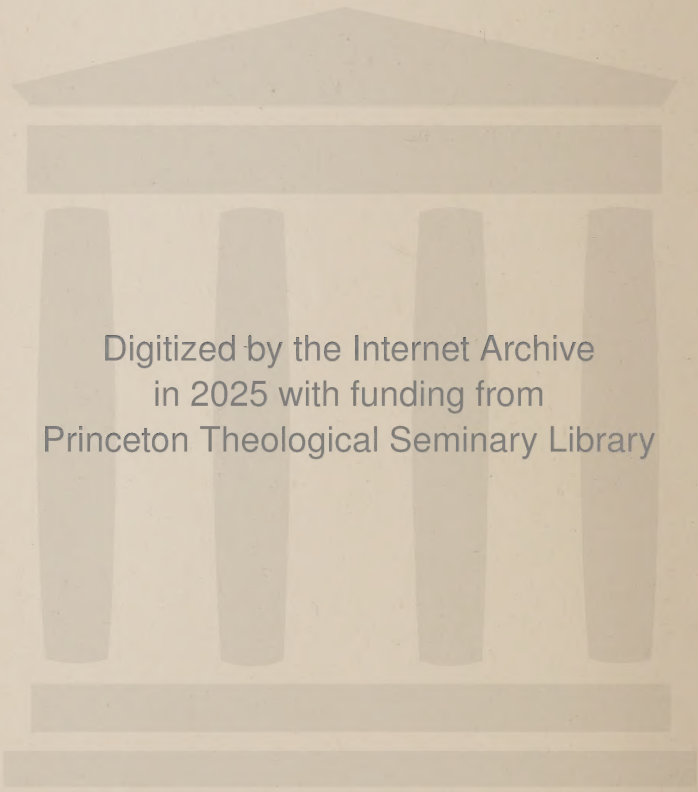
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CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL STATE

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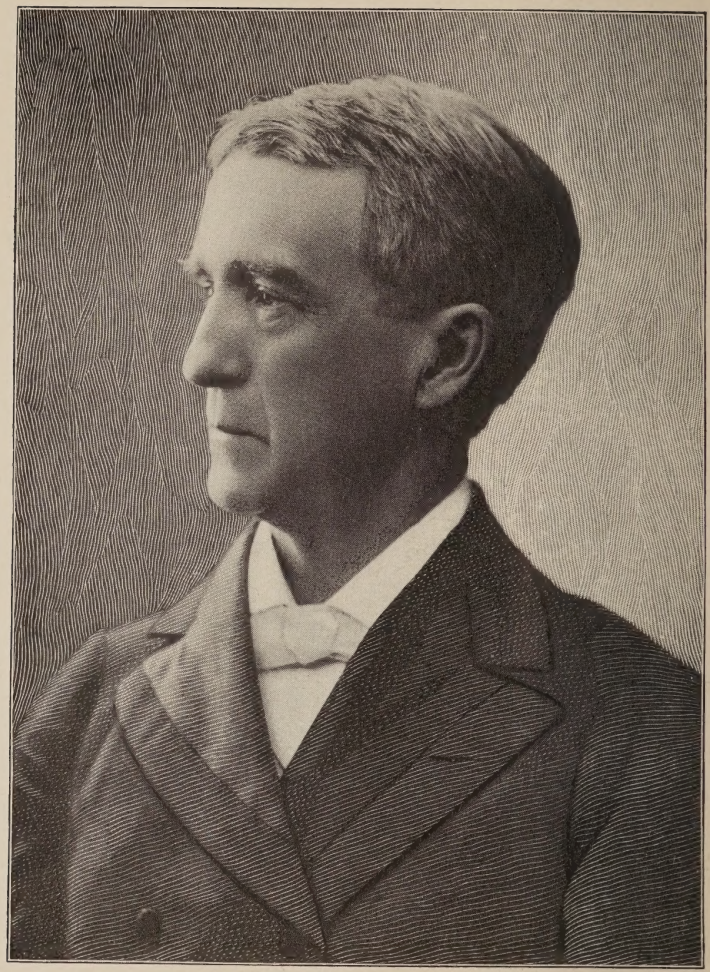


Yours Faithfully
Geo. E. Lorimer

CHRISTIANITY

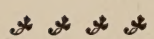
AND THE SOCIAL STATE

BY

GEORGE C. LORIMER

Minister at Tremont Temple

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor:
He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."



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1420 Chestnut Street

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This Book

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED TO MY SON

GEORGE HORACE LORIMER

IN RECOGNITION OF HIS HONORABLE LITERARY AMBITION, AND WITH THE HEARTY PRAYER THAT HIS PEN MAY EVER BE CONSECRATED TO THE CAUSE OF GOD AND HUMANITY ◈ ◈ ◈

"A State exists for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only: if life only were the object, slaves and brute animals might form a State; but they cannot, for they have no share in happiness or in a life of free choice. . . Whence it may be further inferred that virtue must be the serious care of a State which truly deserves the name: for (without this ethical end) the community becomes a mere alliance which differs only in place from alliances of which the members live apart; and law is only a convention, 'a surety to one another of justice,' as the sophist Lycophron says, and has no real power to make the citizens good and just."—Aristotle, "Politics," Book I., Sec. 9.

"Is it not as if this swelling, simmering, never-resting Europe" —*and America—"of ours stood, once more on the verge of an expansion without parallel: struggling, struggling, like a mighty tree again about to burst in the embrace of summer, and shoot forth broad frondent boughs which would fill the whole earth? A disease, but the noblest of all—as of her who is in pain and sore travail, but travails that she may be a mother, and say, Behold, there is a new Man born!"* —*Carlyle, "Chartism," p. 285.*

INTRODUCTORY

I FIRST became interested in social questions very many years ago. At that time, they were just beginning to take form, but then they were not designated by the name which they now bear. Thirty years ago, publicists had never heard of social questions as such, although the problems which they embrace were even then dark and distressing. Gradually, however, as their character and scope came to be more clearly defined, they were grouped together and classified and labeled as we find them in contemporaneous literature. My attention was drawn to their importance by a venerated deacon of the Walnut Street Baptist Church, Louisville, Ky., soon after I became its pastor in 1862. He was a most worthy and intelligent Christian, gifted in an unusual degree with the poetic temperament and with the kindliest feelings for his fellow-beings. His thorough dislike of sham and shoddy and his intolerance of pomposity and pretentiousness, naturally impaired his popularity with the unconscious victims of artificiality and conventionalism. But to those who were most intimately acquainted with him, his was a most attractive personality, his genuineness and generosity more than compensating for his lack of patience with the frivolities and insincerities of society, and for his occasional caustic and somewhat cynical reflections.

Entering his large picture shop, I found him one

Monday morning in meditative mood, bending sadly and wistfully over a full-blown rose. He was very fond of flowers, and usually held one in his hand on Sunday during divine service; and if the sermon appealed to him, it was not uncommon for him quietly to hand the preacher the fragrant blossom he had been fondling. When he carried his flower home with him, which, alas! I fear he often had to do when I was his pastor, it was a decisive intimation that the discourse, in doctrine, in treatment, or in phraseology, left very much to be desired. Seeing him on the Monday morning referred to preoccupied and melancholy, I deemed it wise not to intrude, and was about to retire, when he requested me to be seated, and, in a slow, halting, deliberating way, and in an undertone soft and murmuring, said: "Do not be in a hurry. I have been startled by a grave question touching the economics of life. A sum in arithmetic has quite overwhelmed me, and has bewildered me far more than the integral calculus. Figures do not serve my purpose; ciphering is inadequate; and fluxions are only a folly and a snare." As may easily be understood, I was at once attentive and curious. What insoluble mathematical mystery had arisen to disturb the equanimity of my honored parishioner? Could it be that he had discovered that his own firm was on the eve of bankruptcy? No; from his distressed look I felt sure that the difficulty was more serious than that. What! had the nation gone into repudiation and insolvency? No; what more perplexing than that? It cannot surely be that a world-wide financial collapse had occurred? No; but something, if not so gigantic and disastrous, at least as pitiable,

if not more so, and in its way as shameful and alarming.

The deacon continued, still with painful hesitation: "A poor woman has been to see me and has sought my advice. She left just before you arrived, or I would have taken you into our counsel; for I admit that I seem to need the help of a younger and more vigorous mind. But as you are here, let me state the case to you, and see whether you are equal to the financial issue which distresses her and depresses me. This woman is a widow, fairly well educated and of an irreproachable reputation, and earns, or tries to earn, her living by sewing. She called on me to assist her in computing the profit or loss involved in continuing her work by the light of a tallow candle until midnight. Such candles cost but a few cents at most, and it would seem as though her earnings must be substantially increased by the investment. But she was not satisfied that this result would follow. She said that she was not quite sure, candles being higher-priced than usual on account of the war and the seamstress' work being so scantily remunerated, whether her wages would pay for the light, and whether, if she taxed her strength stitching by night, she would be as able to make the same income as she now does toiling only in the day. This nice piece of calculation, as she explained, must take into consideration the use of fuel during a portion of the year, and the possible dangers to health, bringing with them seasons of enforced idleness and accumulating medical bills." At this point, as I now recall, my venerable friend paused, as though overcome by the magnitude of the economic problem thus pressed on

his attention, and he added with an indescribable pathos in his voice: "Think of an immortal soul, an industrious, frugal, saintly woman, being obliged, in an age of wealth and luxury, to balance in this way the possible margin between her capital in strength, skill, and time, and the dividends thereon in the shape of a paltry dole begrudgingly paid by her employers! What spectacle more humiliating than this! And what can better illustrate the futility of your Turgots, your Adam Smiths and Ricardos, and the emptiness and hollowness of what passes among us for scientific systems of political economy than the form of this lowly widow bent beneath her burdens, while her anxious mind is striving to decide whether, if she should work into the night, the pennies earned would more than offset the expense incurred for a tallow candle!"

My good deacon had asked me to think; and, without exaggeration, I am sure I can say I have been thinking almost continuously ever since our conversation; not, however, on this particular case, but on the nether side of the social world to which it introduced me in my early manhood and of which it made me for the first time distinctly conscious. From that hour to the present I have been a student, both in the domain of books and of actual life, inquiring into the condition of the working people, of the poor, of the disendowed, and of all those who seem in the struggle for existence to be overmatched. Often has the widow's question recurred to me as I have mingled with a group of thin, sad-eyed tailors in a sweater's den, or contemplated the blackened faces of the miners at the mouth of a coal-pit, or looked on the patient lace weavers in their damp,

cheerless rooms—"Does the wage pay for the light?" Haunted by this and kindred queries, I have tried to understand the causes of social inequalities and to ascertain how they can be remedied. Pursuing this quest, I have spent much time in lowly homes where poor men live, and I have endeavored to enter sympathetically into their sorrows and complaints. I have frequented workshops; I have attended labor demonstrations in England and America; I have heard violent harangues in socialistic and communistic meetings; I have consorted with demagogues and even with desperate agitators; I have listened to the bitter stories of wrong and misery recited by the dockyard strikers of London; I have ventured into the fever-infested tenements of New York, Paris, and Boston; and I have catechised, interviewed, and cross-examined all kinds of men from whom presumably helpful information could be derived.

And, in addition to that, I have levied a tax on innumerable volumes bearing immediately or remotely on the subject absorbing my attention, and I have consulted magazine articles and pondered newspaper editorials until I have at least a fair idea of what has been thought and what is thought on the sociological question, on its problems, its doctrines, its reforms, and its expectations. In conducting these investigations, I have observed a most remarkable change going on in the public estimate of their value and dignity. When I began my career, science was uppermost in almost every circle and on almost every occasion. Men discussed, explained, and magnified physical research, and little else was heard except learned talk—and more talk not

learned—about geology, astronomy, the Mosaic account of creation, the reasonableness of a limited deluge, the nebular hypothesis, and other lofty themes of the same sort—as a rule of not very much practical worth to the world. The pulpit then was very busy bringing nature and revelation to an agreement, acting most seriously as mediator between parties that never had had a falling out; and grave theological professors were burdened with the responsibility of demonstrating the impossibility of reconciling Moses and Darwin.

But at last it has dawned on the age that much of this solicitude is superfluous, and that, while the questions involved are interesting enough, they are not sufficiently vital to the well-being of humanity for them to be endlessly discussed It has come to be seen that familiarity with the constitution and operations of society is of more pressing need than accurate acquaintance with the wonders of the solar system; and that the history of the struggle for existence is not so important to the masses, who are struggling for existence still, as the knowledge of the ways and means by which the struggle may become less dire and destructive; and that it is a matter of relative indifference as to the destiny of this planet in comparison with the clear perception of what ought to be done for the improvement and happiness of its inhabitants before the final catastrophe occurs.

Consequently, natural science has not the hold it once had on the popular imagination. It has, to a very considerable extent, been superseded by sociological studies. The people everywhere are in a ferment. They are not convinced that the present constitution of society is, of

all conceivable constitutions, the best. There is a demand, fervid and sometimes fierce, for reforms, and for a more equitable distribution of the good things of life. Halls ring with declamations, and the press is pouring forth a stream of publications treating the various aspects of social wrongs, social illusions, and social progress in almost every style of writing, from the tractate to the treatise, from the philosophical discussion to the fascinating romance, and from the text-book on political economy to the Marseillaise hymns sung by the enthusiasts of humanity. Evidently, social questions are the questions of the hour, and the public man who fails to sympathize with them is out of touch with the *Zeitgeist* which differentiates his time from every preceding age.

I may be asked, if so many volumes are dealing with this general subject, why pen another, and why add another to the already crowded lists? It may be sufficient to reply that I am impelled to write. I cannot do otherwise. I feel that I have a testimony to bear, a message to deliver, and that I ought not to keep silent. Moreover, there are not a few persons who may be interested enough in me to take the time requisite to read a volume bearing my superscription, who would not be so far attracted by the theme itself as to peruse one by another author. I am convinced that as the floods necessary for and equal to the irrigation of stubborn lands must be composed of numerous streams or of abundant showers made up of innumerable drops, so the present trend toward social amelioration can only acquire force enough to produce gratifying fertility by the multiplication of publications and by the combination of multitudinous contributions from many pens. Hence,

I write; and it may come to pass that even my "little best" may find its way into some soul and awaken it to a new sense of solicitude for others. And though its identity may speedily be lost in the ever-increasing body of sociological literature, it may still help in some humble degree to promote its saving influence. A distinguished statesman of the last century protested against the expectation that the institutions of a great country could be suddenly and completely re-edified. He used to say[1] that he left such transformations to Harlequin's wand and the machinists of the stage; for it was not possible for them to take place in a system so mightily and so infinitely complicated as that of the political organization of a nation. I agree with him. But neither can a perfected social order, like a steam engine, be set up and put together in a few weeks. It must grow; it must be evolved from pre-existing conditions and achievements. It can never be hammered out like the iron plates for war vessels and then be fastened on humanity by the bolts and screws of violence and coercion. And if it is necessarily a growth, then what I have written, though it may be as insignificant as the shining dew brushed from the leaves of stately trees by a passing gust of wind, may serve the same purpose as the dewdrops, it may contribute in a modest way to the life and flowering of the plant.

The German emperor has felt called on lately to lecture the artists of the Berlin Opera House and the Berlin Royal Theatre on the dangers arising to their profession from materialism. He informed his privileged auditors that he himself had been educated in idealism,

[1] "Literature and Learning in England," George L. Craik.

and that the stage should seek to fashion mind and character, and should assist in educating moral conceptions. On concluding his address, he said: "Let every one of you, in his own way, and firmly trusting in God, strive to serve the spirit of idealism and to continue the struggle against materialism and against those un-German ways into which so many German theatres have already unfortunately deviated." This is salutary advice, and, the speaker and the hearers being considered, it may even be taken as symptomatic; but at the same time it should be observed that the note of warning sounded is only the echo of a refrain which has been the burden of many a recent appeal, addressed not to the stage alone, but to that great world of which the stage is only a symbol and a shadow.

The call to idealism has been going forth for several years from pulpit and college, and has been voiced by preacher, poet, and philosopher; and even society, though still deafened by the roar of its commerce and dazzled by the glamor of its unparalleled successes, is beginning to realize, and perhaps has gone farther than the beginning, that "while idealism can bake no bread, it can give us God, freedom, and immortality." It is not, however, to be inferred that a reaction has set in on either side of the Atlantic toward Lessing, Goethe, Kant, Schiller, Fichte, or Hegel. It is rather a new idealism that is being born, not an old idealism that is being resuscitated. The modern protest against materialism has very little in common with the hysterical sentimentalism of "Werther," the enervating liberalism of "Nathan the Wise," or the theatrical emotionalism and inflated heroism of "Wallenstein" and "The Rob-

bers." There was much that was vague, mystical, and intangible in the old idealism, and the complaint of its inapplicability to ordinary affairs was not without reason. It never was able to transform its transcendentalism into the common speech and activities of social life. The nebula which was its favorite domain, it never reduced to stars for the practical guidance of mankind; and the stars about which it poetized so frequently, it never brought a foot nearer to the earth. It was so high, so resplendent, so wonderful, that the effort to reach its amazing altitude and breathe its refined and attenuated air apparently deprived its devotees of all power, and perhaps of all disposition, to trouble themselves with laborious undertakings for the reformation of society. The times of George III. in England, of Frederick William II. of Prussia, of Joseph II. in Austria, of the Regent in France, and of Peter III. and Catherine II. in Russia, were not of a character to excite admiration or provoke emulation, and their history supplies a pathetic comment on the literary school whose decay his majesty of Germany deplores so sincerely.

But the new idealism has broken with the old. In name and spirit they are one, but in aim and scope they differ. The new is rather practical than speculative. It is not theorizing, but actualizing. It holds that all things, all words, deeds, and beings, should be seen and interpreted in the light of "God, freedom, and immortality"; and it demands that human conduct, individual and communal, should be governed by the highest and not the lowest, and that the earthy should reflect the glory of the heavenly. Materialistic conceptions of society involving the supremacy of the selfish and the

meritoriousness of the mercenary it rejects with scorn and horror, as it does the notion of a materialistic universe. Its philosophy is essentially a religion, and its religion is the organization of the world's life according to the form and manner of a divine pattern.

In harmony with the new idealism, and to some extent as an exposition of its sociology, I have penned these pages. From the title of my book, it will be inferred that I have derived the essential features of my idealism from the teachings of Jesus Christ. This, at least, has been my aim, and I trust that I have not failed to understand aright the mind of the Master. To me, the prime mistake of Christianity has been in attempting to shape itself exclusively in ecclesiastical organisms, instead of unfolding its meaning and exercising its functions in the social life of the world. It is in the hope of discrediting to some extent this fatal error that I have written. I shall not be surprised if many of my readers entertain doubt as to the practicality of measures I have advocated, and neither shall I be astonished if I am voted a visionary by those who pride themselves on being sagacious. But if I have only seen visions, who knows whether they may not become realities in the future? The ideal always antedates the real. The prophet anticipates the worker. A poet describes those who "thrust out lean arms of unshaped expectation"; but unhappy the generation that has no expectations whatever. Dreams are better than despair; noble ambition is more serviceable to the world than ignoble content; and lofty illusions are infinitely preferable to degrading realities. Ernest Jones sings in tones as truthful as they are musical:

Men counted him a dreamer? Dreams
Are but the light of clearer skies—
Too dazzling for our naked eyes.
And when we catch their flashing beams,
We turn aside and call them *dreams.*
Oh! trust me, every thought that yet
In greatness rose and sorrow set,
That time to ripening glory nurst,
Was called "an idle dream" at first.

But whatever may be said by critics regarding the soundness of my theories, I am confident that I have urged no reform and penned no sentence for which I shall need to blush when they are finally scrutinized by the Divine Task-Master. In this volume, as in another published several years ago, wherein social wrongs and social wickedness were the principal subjects of discussion, and to which I refer as a few passages from its pages have been transferred to these,[1] I have tried to speak for the voiceless and unheard anonymous multitudes. I own to having often had in my mind the solemn words of the patriarch as I have conscientiously sought how best to discharge my duty to humanity in this book:

If I have withheld the poor from their desire,
Or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail;
Or have eaten my morsel alone,
And the fatherless hath not eaten thereof;
. . . . . .

If I have seen any perish for want of clothing,
Or that the needy had no covering;
If his loins have not blessed me,
And if he were not warmed with the fleece of my sheep;

[1] "Studies in Social Life," Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., London.

If I have lifted up my hand against the fatherless,
Because I saw my help in the gate :
Then let my shoulder fall from the shoulder blade,
And mine arm be broken from the bone.[1]

I have at least striven to preserve my soul from the possibility of there being brought against it so foul an indictment as this. For the crime of treason against the race—of *lèse-humanité*—I have not to seek assoilment. If I have erred at all, it has been in an entirely different direction; and if I am to be blamed, it will be for the same tolerance, the same charity, and for the same leaning toward the side of the ostracized and the outraged which lost Burke his seat in Parliament, 1780. But if I myself and my pleadings are likewise to be rejected, I can only in such circumstances take to myself the consolation which sustained the English statesman in his defeat and be comforted:[2]

"The charges against me are all of one kind: that I have pushed the principles of general justice and benevolence too far; farther than a cautious policy would warrant, and farther than the opinions of many would go along with me. In every accident which may happen through life, in pain, in sorrow, in depression, and distress, I will call to mind this accusation and be comforted." Amen!

Yours Faithfully
Geo. C. Lorimer

[1] Job 31 : 16–22, R. V.
[2] Bristol Address, Sept., 1780, Burke's Works.

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CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL STATE

CHAPTER I

A GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ZOLA

THE art gallery of the Columbian Exposition contained in its collection a masterly work from the pencil of a European artist which fascinated and puzzled by its originality and daring. Its theme was familiar, but its treatment was singular and even startling. "The Descent from the Cross" was the well-worn and hackneyed subject which the painter had chosen to reproduce. In some respects he had adhered to conventional methods in representing the great scene in the history of redemption; but there was a total and manifestly an intentional disregard of time and place. While, as in the older pictures, the naked body of Christ is being gently lowered by loving hands, everything else, locality, costume, is incongruous and modern. There is a smoke-covered city—but the city evidently is Paris, not Jerusalem; and though the hill is retained, at a glance it is seen that the ascent is not that of Golgotha, but of Montmartre. Moreover, the figures introduced on the canvas have little in common with the men and women who were present at the crucifixion. They are French, not Jewish, toilers; and they are dressed in the garb of the artisan, as he is known today, and not in the simple garments of the peasant as

he was known yesterday. Even the centurion, with his pious ejaculation, has been superseded by the workman with his blue blouse, who is assigned a commanding position in the grouping, and stands forth angrily shaking his clenched fist at the corrupt and luxurious city.

Every one who saw this picture, and who took sufficient time to reflect on its peculiarities, could hardly have failed to wonder at the artist's contempt of the historic verities. Why did he in this manner modernize the ancient tragedy of humanity? What could he have intended by transferring the immeasurable crime of the old, decrepit society to the very center of the new? Wherefore should so ghastly a spectacle be made to tower thus ominously over the most cultured and voluptuous city of the present age? These questions I cannot answer; for I have never met Jean Béraud, and I have not been favored with an exposition of his motive in combining these incongruities. But the impression made on my mind by his work, and my own interpretation of its meaning cannot, I think, be very far from the design he had in view when he wrought out its details. For to me it said, that were Jesus to appear in any of our vast cities, particularly in Paris, he would not be tolerated, and certainly would not be exalted over the affairs of our selfish and suffering communities. It may be that he would be rejected and would be crucified as swiftly as possible. Perhaps the painter aimed to teach his fellow-countrymen that the apparent decay of the French nation, and the increasing horrors of Parisian life, the debasement in public and private morality, were mainly due to their repudiation of primitive Christianity—the Christianity of the fishermen and

publicans of Judea. Likewise remembering that our Lord had identified himself with the race, he may have planned to convey the idea that civilization, represented by the smoky city, was intent on crucifying humanity, and that material progress was being accomplished by the mutilation and assassination of manhood. And the "Descent from the Cross" may further have been conceived to suggest to the Voltairian cynic, who yet cries, "*Ecrasez l'infâme*," that not until Jesus and his divine ideals of justice and love cease to be gibbeted will it be possible to rescue millions of helpless creatures from being crushed beneath the cruel wheels of advancing civilization. But when Jesus no longer is nailed to the tree, when he comes forth radiant with life from the tomb, and when he is welcomed, and his laws and precepts are made the governing principles of society, then the reproach of the ages shall be rolled away and the final emancipation of mankind from wrong and woe be achieved.

With this expectation, which stirs the enthusiasm of the nobler minds to-day, and which, clothed with more scientific phraseology, is entering largely into recent sociology, M. Emile Zola has no kind of sympathy. Were he suddenly introduced to the picture of Jean Béraud I can readily imagine what his exposition would be. Judging from his writings, particularly from his last published volume, "Paris," he would probably express himself in some such way as this: "Wonderful! the painter has become prophet. He sees that what has made Paris and the world an abode of misery, and has crowded their *salons* with infamous persons in wealth, and their boulevards with infamous persons in poverty,

is the teachings and influence of the Nazarene. Yes; he perceives that this Jewish teacher has shackled the intellect, has burdened the conscience, has alienated the affections, multiplied superstitions, and has retarded the real happiness of the race; and that there can be no hope for humanity until the cross and its victim are removed from before the eyes of the people, and they cease to have any confidence in the mysteries and mummeries they perpetually symbolize."

This at least is the burden of his own message to the world, and it is more than probable that he would discover something like it in the enigmatical production of the artist. The eminent novelist is not alone in his antipathy to Christianity. He simply voices the belief of a section of freethinkers who do not hesitate to lay at the door of religion responsibility for the continuance of ignorance, servitude, and shame. These extremists hold that the church has been a curse and not a blessing to society, and that her downfall is absolutely indispensable to social regeneration. In lectures, newspaper articles, and pretentious volumes these sentiments are finding expression; and not a few persons have come to consider them at least debatable, while multitudes have forsaken the altars of God, because they are beginning to doubt whether they are of any appreciable value to the well-being of individuals and nations. No very great body of people is as yet openly clamoring for their destruction. The masses are not sure; hence they hesitate. But let them be convinced that religion is superfluous, that its exactions are onerous, and that its doctrines and traditions are inimical to their own temporal interests, and what is now only apathy and indif-

ference will turn to positive antagonism and bitter repudiation. At present they hear little else than the croakings of criticism, and these sound discordantly from various pulpits even, and from certain theological chairs. They see the air crowded with vultures, with sharpened beaks and burning eyes, hastening toward the prey. And as they follow them they cannot fail to see that these rapacious destroyers are lacerating, biting, and tearing the flesh of Christianity; and are they to be blamed if they come to suspect that where the carrion birds feed, there only a carcass decays and putrefies? They are not likely to stop and reflect that often in the past, when the body was crucified, and long before life was extinct, the winged assassins would begin their murderous work and strike fiercely the eyes and heart of the sufferer; and that in a similar sense Christianity may still live and, like its Master, have in itself the promise and potency of a resurrection, though ravaging and iron-clawed enemies assail its very vitals. To ordinary people the swoop of the ill-omened vulture is the sure sign of corrupting death, and they can only pity the loving Rizpahs who try to fright away the birds of the air and the prowling beasts of the field, that come by day and night to claim the inanimate bodies of her sons whom the Gibeonites hanged "on the mountain before the Lord." Better leave them alone; or better still, bury them out of sight lest they contaminate the pure air and fill the earth with languor and disease. And if the suspicion I have referred to shall deepen into conviction, and if society comes to share the opinion of Zola and his admirers, that Christianity is only a rotting corpse whose longer tolerance imperils the social well-

being of mankind, funeral obsequies and a tomb cannot much longer be delayed.

Should the church imitate the Sphinx in the midst of all this hubbub of wind and sand, and preserve unbroken silence? There are those among us who insist that she should do so, though she may be slowly sinking, like the Sphinx, into the depths. Centuries may pass before she is finally engulfed; but it is only a question of time. If she is content to be no more than the Sphinx to society, a sign of mystery and the unseen, and bearing no actual part in the stirring present, she need not be surprised if men treat her as they do her prototype in Egypt—gaze at her curiously and mockingly, caring little whether she shall survive the next sand storm from the desert, or be forever interred in its burning drifts. I for one believe that she should speak. False ideas of dignity should be abandoned and the church should seriously inquire into the nature of her own mission in the world and ascertain what are the foundations of the grievous charges that are brought against her. It may be that she is being dealt with unfairly; it may be that she has been neglectful of obligations; or that she has suffered perversion at the hands of some who have been honored as leaders. But whatever may be the truth, she should face it candidly. Such an examination is called for as much by the needs of society as by her own. If conducted in a generous and enlightened manner it will serve two ends: it will make plain to society the total value of the church to its life and progress; and it will make plain to the church her failures and their causes, and the means she should and must employ if her social ministry is to be crowned with success.

M. Zola's latest contribution to *fin-de-siēcle* literature serves as an admirable introduction to this investigation. His statement of the case against Christianity is, on the whole, the most notable that has as yet been made. And as its power is enhanced by the felicity of style and the charm of romance, not unlikely it may exercise a wider influence than a more abstract and logical discussion. Moreover, the distinguished Frenchman has gone farther than others who sympathize with him in his hostility. He has ventured to suggest a substitute for the religion he would abrogate. He is not satisfied with mere destructive criticism, as so many skeptics are. Iconoclasm is not enough for him; he would also build. Therefore he takes great pains to show in what way and by what means society is to be cured of its diseases when the church has been finally abandoned. He has a gospel of his own, a gospel free from the supernatural and emptied of "atonement" and "incarnations" and other alleged mysteries; a very real and potent gospel, according to its author, made up of science, explosives, and the apotheosis of fecundity. Having something positive to offer, M. Zola deserves well at the hands of those who have not lost faith in Christianity. Too frequently they are merely treated to a programme of destruction. Wild, anarchical minds pull down and seem to fancy that humanity can consent to dwell among ruins. Our author evidently thinks otherwise. Consequently he expounds an evangel for coming ages; and in doing this he enables all men to compare the value of what he proposes with the worth of what he would abolish, and furnishes the necessary criteria for a sound judgment on the relative merits of the old gospel and

the new. On this account, if on none other, the famous novelist is entitled to our gratitude. He has the courage of his convictions. We respect him for avowing them. But the more they are studied the deeper must be the impression that they are untenable, unpromising, and unpropitious.

The views of M. Zola on this subject are contained in his trilogy consisting of three books,—"Lourdes," "Rome," "Paris,"—in each of which the priest, Pierre Froment, appears pursuing his inquiries. He is, unhappily for himself, a cassocked unbeliever, seeking, if possible, to reconcile his intelligence to his vows. In attempting this unperformable feat he visits Lourdes, Rome, and Paris. He finds the first a center of charlatanry, illusion, and deception; the second a whited sepulchre, smelling of cerements and rottenness; and the third he discovers to be a hotbed of vice and a Gehenna of suffering. For the purposes of this discussion it is only necessary that we should consider the conclusions reached, and the principles inculcated in the last of these volumes. With the story it relates we have no particular concern, and really it is quite subordinate to its *leit-motif*. Enough to say that it revolves around the person of Guillaume Froment, the brother of Pierre, retails quite a number of scandals, political and social, chronicles the possibilities of "*vril*," an explosive mightier than dynamite, of which an example is given in the explosion of an anarchist's bomb, and on which the hero purposes to rely for the destruction of the new basilica on the heights of Montmartre, and reaches the culmination in the death of Guillaume and in the new life which comes to the unfrocked priest through mar-

riage. These special features furnish, so to speak, the musical staff on which the author composes the plaintive dirge for the funeral of a dead religion, mingled with notes of jubilation over the prospects of a new society where all shall be blessed because delivered from the vampires, nightmares, and ghosts of Christianity. From the following extracts the reader may form for himself a fairly adequate idea of M. Zola's treatment of this varied theme :

If Luther were to come to France in our days he would end, forgotten and dying of hunger, on a Batignolles fifth-floor. A schism cannot succeed among a people that no longer believes ; that has ceased to take all interest in the church, and set its hope elsewhere. And it was all Catholicism, in fact all Christianity, that would be swept away, for apart from certain moral maxims, the gospel no longer supplied a possible code for society. And this conviction increased Pierre's torment on the days when his cassock weighed more heavily on his shoulders, when he ended by feeling contempt for himself at thus celebrating the Divine mystery of the mass, which for him had become but the formula of a dead religion. . .

When I went to Lourdes it was to see if the divinity of simple minds would work the awaited miracle and restore the belief of the early ages to the people which rebelled through excess of suffering. And when I went to Rome it was in the naïve hope of there finding the new religion required by our democracies, the only one that could pacify the world by bringing back the brotherliness of the golden age. But how foolish of me all that was ! Both here and there I simply lighted on nothingness. There where I so ardently dreamt of finding the salvation of others I only sank myself, going down a-peak like a ship, not a timber of which is ever found again. One tie still linked me to my fellow-men, that of charity, the dressing, relieving, and perhaps, in the long run, healing of wounds and sores ; but that last cable has now been severed. Charity, to my mind, appears futile and derisive by the

side of justice, to whom all supremacy belongs, and whose advent has become a necessity and can be stayed by none. And so it is all over. I am mere ashes, an empty grave as it were. I no longer believe in anything, anything, anything whatever! . .

Human salvation cannot be effected by charity; nothing but justice can accomplish it. That is the gathering cry which is going up from every nation. For nearly two thousand years now the gospel has proved a failure. There has been no redemption; the sufferings of mankind are every whit as great and unjust as they were when Jesus came. Moreover, Catholicism has reared upon his primitive teaching such a frightful edifice of terror and oppression.

If this theory of original sin is accepted the world is but sin, a mere hell of temptation and suffering through which one must pass in order to merit heaven. Ah! what an admirable instrument for absolute despotism is that religion of death which the principle of charity alone has enabled men to tolerate, but which the need of justice will perforce sweep away. The poor man who is the wretched dupe of it all no longer believes in paradise, but requires that each and all should be rewarded according to their deserts upon this earth, and thus eternal life becomes the good goddess, and desire and labor the very laws of the world, while the fruitfulness of woman is again honored, and the idiotic nightmare of hell is replaced by glorious nature whose travail knows no end. Leaning upon modern science, clear Latin reason sweeps away the ancient Semitic conception of the gospel. Pierre concludes as follows:

For eighteen hundred years Christianity has been hampering the march of mankind toward truth and justice. And mankind will only resume its evolution on the day when it abolishes Christianity. . .

His constant endeavor was to bring all back to science, and he was deeply grieved at finding in nature no scientific sign of equality or even justice, such as he craved for in the social sphere. His despair indeed came from this inability to reconcile scientific logic with apostolic love, the dream of universal happiness and brotherhood, and the end of all iniquity. . .

A religion grafted on science is the indicated, certain, inevitable finish of man's long march toward knowledge. And is there not already some indication of such a religion? Has not the idea of the duality of God and the universe been brushed aside, and is not the principle of *unity, monisme,* becoming more and more evident—unity leading to solidarity, and the sole law of life proceeding by evolution from the first point of the ether that condensed to make the world?

These sentences plainly indicate that the writer is laboring under a frightful misconception as to the real spirit and aims of Christianity. He evidently identifies it exclusively with Catholicism; and even then his "clear Latin reason" is not clear enough to discern the governing ambition of the system he condemns. We too believe that Romanism has not exerted a beneficial influence on national character and social progress. Whether we study its action on the people and institutions of Italy or Spain, or on the young and growing communities in the new world, we are confronted by the fact that, when unhampered by a vigorous and neighborly Protestantism, it invariably produces unhappy conditions and results. It is frequently seen contentedly and amicably to co-exist side by side with the most deplorable inequalities and oppressions. Anarchy prevails in Catholic communities to a far greater extent than elsewhere, and ignorance and poverty are likewise extraordinarily rank and prolific in the centers where

ecclesiastical authority is paramount. But this beggary is not due to the charity of the church, as M. Zola seems to assume, but to her exactions. Every student of history knows this to be the case. The Romish Church is the most insatiable tax-gatherer the world has seen. And she has filled her coffers to repletion, not because she is necessarily indifferent to the needs of the poor, but because wealth is indispensable to her aggrandizement in the eyes of the nations. Her craving for supreme headship in the affairs of men, her determination to be the sovereign over sovereign peoples, calling for display, show, flummery, guards, and dignitaries, all of the expensive kind, has developed a rapaciousness as abnormal as it is abhorrent. All this M. Zola might have said and have kept within the bounds of sober statement. Remembering how much France suffered from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, recalling the astounding and bewildering amount of property the Romish Church held at the time of the Revolution, and considering her present demands on the pocket of the nation, he might reasonably have contended that the country suffered immensely from the *kind* of religion it fostered, not from religion itself. This would have been an intelligible line of argument, and it would have commanded the respectful attention of the general public on both sides of the Atlantic.

Most likely his failure to discriminate in this manner is due to his singular assumption that charity—meaning almsgiving and relief of the poor—is synonymous with the gospel and exhausts its significance. He seems incapable of any other conception. His entire argument is colored by this misapprehension. In Christianity he

sees only a poorhouse, hospital, soup kitchen, reformatory, and straightway concludes that society can never be redeemed through these agencies. To him it is apparent that such charities are unequal to the strain put upon them, that they cannot heal the wounds of the world, and that a surer remedy must be found.

With his conclusion we are in perfect accord; but we dissent *in toto* from his position that the main business and the avowed business of religion in the world is the accomplishment of social regeneration through the multiplication of gratuities. The temporal benefactions of Christianity are innumerable. In cities like London, Paris, Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, they are remarkable in quantity and quality. They may all be needed, and they may all be taken as symptomatic of a deep desire to express the heart of Christian brotherliness. But while, as things are, they should be cherished, it is undeniable that they have conspicuously failed to eradicate the evil and pernicious conditions which called them into existence. They have ameliorated suffering, but they have not removed its causes; and they have undoubtedly contributed to the relief of humanity without increasing its integrity, its efficiency, and independence. It is well at this hour that public attention should be called to their limitations. There is a movement in some Protestant communities to increase indefinitely such agencies as these. It is claimed that to "reach the masses" there must be more attention given to temporal interests. And in some instances this drift is changing the church into an eleemosynary institution. Or in other terms, M. Zola's narrow view of the gospel seems to be insinuating itself among vari-

ous groups of religious people who ought to know better. To judge from much that is printed and more that is preached, the opinion is becoming widespread that some form of almsgiving embodies and expresses the genius of our faith; and though the enormous and splendid charities in Europe and America are standing proofs to the contrary, it is repeated variously and vehemently that these charities must still be added to and be indefinitely multiplied if the masses are to be "reached"—a form of speech as misty, by the way, as it is misleading. That the church should be concerned for the temporal well-being and happiness of the people we ardently believe, and it is the main purpose of this volume to indicate her obligations in this regard; but that she should suppose that this duty is to take supreme or exclusive shape in almsgiving, however disguised under euphemistic names, or that she is "reaching the masses," when she brings them to her courts for the material aid they may receive, is mischievously erroneous. M. Zola is right; charity cannot save society from its poverty and pain, from its vice and villainy, and from its decadence and despair; but he is wrong in identifying the gospel with charity, and whoever regards them as one, and considers the words as convertible and equivalent, is as far astray from the truth as the novelist himself.

Christianity is entitled to be regarded as the revelation and incarnation of love. But love and the helping hand are not necessarily the same. "If I give my goods to feed the poor," says Paul, "and have not love, it profiteth me nothing." Here he discriminates, and we should do likewise. Many offerings are made for the sake of personal pride and self-gratification, and are

destitute of the humanitarian spirit. Christianity, indeed, enjoins almsgiving, yet with comparative infrequency is this obligation set forth either by Christ or the apostles. But it never tires in its commendations of love. From first to last love is the burden of its speech, the music of its song. And by this grace it does not mean weak emotionalism or emasculating sentimentality. With it there is ever associated in the New Testament a virtue of the most vigorous type—righteousness, justice. These two great moral forces are not antipodal to each other, but they are actually indispensable to each other's completeness and manifestation. Love is the soul of genuine justice, and justice is the real and noblest expression of love. Love inspires justice and justice vindicates love. The one is the spirit, the other the body; the one is the heart and the other the hand of the ethical life, by which the social order is ultimately to be transformed and transfigured. What charity cannot do, and what the Gospels never proposed that it should do, love incarnate in justice shall finally accomplish.

At this point also M. Zola's philosophy is at fault. He creates the impression that the failure of justice in modern society is due to the prevalence of religion which extols almsgiving; and that it can only revive and triumph through the supremacy of science. But this position is not tenable, and is about as absurd as anything penned in recent years. Science, on the contrary, is in no small degree responsible for many of the inequalities and excesses of our era. It has facilitated inventions which have superseded human labor in a remarkable degree, and thus has contributed to poverty

and has engendered dissatisfaction everywhere. Moreover, it has supplied material and occasion for the formation of corporations and trusts, which have in turn given rise to gigantic swindles and brutal outrages. On the one hand it has rendered possible the Baron Duvillards and Panama scandals, and on the other, the Salvats with their crude ideas of righting wrongs by explosives, which somehow always fail to slay the guilty parties. As yet there are no signs in heaven or on earth that justice is to be reborn of science and is to bring to an end the tyrannies of modern civilization. Nor is it to be condemned for this inability. Justice is an ethical quality and can only spring from the ethical spirit and not from physical researches and materialistic triumphs; it is the child, the firstborn, of love, not of steam or electricity, and it can only be sustained by love, not by dynamos and machinery. Love—love of God and love of man—is not only synonymous with religion, but *is* religion, and, consequently, in religion, true religion, is the final hope of mankind; for only through religion can justice be enthroned over the marts of trade and the cabinets of States.

From this definition it is manifest that our author goes too far when he ascribes the present condition of France to the spirit and activities of Christianity. Departures from its original ideas may be in some measure responsible for the evils that prevail; but only the most audacious indifference to facts would array it as the chief culprit. Poverty was in the world before Jesus was born, and it reigns in some of its most abject and degrading forms where his gospel has never been accepted. The squalor of heathen races surpasses in

extent and horribleness even that which may be found in many of our large cities. Passion, lust, voluptuous indecency, and Sybarite sensuality rioted in ancient communities and befouled them with uncleanness long before the angels sang their Christmas hymn, and the weary-footed and heart-burdened disciples went forth from Jerusalem preaching the diviner life for man. The race was as rapacious, greedy, cruel, luxurious, proud, selfish, devilish, before the cross was reared, the symbol of nobler things, as it has been at any subsequent period. Hence it follows that the pollutions of the present age should be traced to the perennial sources of mud and slime which have been pouring out their black infamies from the beginning, and not to an institution whose influence has been and is limited and circumscribed both as to locality and duration. This much is demanded by the scientific method as well as by candor and common sense. Were Christianity absolutely a universal and uniform factor, wherever the iniquities and inequalities of earth appear, it might with some show of reason be held accountable for their existence. But as this is not the case it ought not to be charged with guilt which in the nature of things it could not have incurred.

Every one admits that something is radically wrong with France. Her population is diminishing, her moral life is declining, and her respect for law, as witnessed by the proceedings in the Dreyfus trial, is departing. What is the matter with her? Why is she afflicted with so many "borderland dwellers," as Maudsley terms them, citizens who oscillate between reason and madness? How comes it that so many of her *dégénérés*

supérieurs are conspicuous in her literature, and writers like Paul Verlaine are admired for their hiccoughing invocations to the Virgin? Why is it that Théophile Gautier's adoration of the lascivious commands such attention, and the "*Fleurs du Mal*" of Baudelaire contaminate with their sickly odor so many *salons* of fashion? What has happened? What has befallen the head of gold on the metallic image of Latinism? Surely the descriptions of Paris as penned by M. Zola may well excite the liveliest apprehensions as to the future of the city and the country. They are vivid, graphic; but they only lend new force to the impression that something is wrong, perhaps irreparably wrong, with the Gallic republic which Victor Hugo once apostrophized as "The Christ of the Nations." Not far from dissolution and doomsday must communities be when such pictures as we find on the pages of this book we are reviewing, can be faithfully drawn of them. Two or three, as examples of much more of the same kind, may be seriously pondered. This, for instance:

> That house on the Rue des Saules, that horrible home of want and agony, had lingered in Pierre's memory. To him it was like an embodiment of the whole filthy *cloaca* in which the poor of Paris suffer unto death. He again saw the yard filthy, like a quagmire, the evil-smelling staircases, the sordid, bare, icy rooms, the families fighting for messes which even stray dogs would not have eaten; the mothers, with exhausted breasts, carrying screaming children to and fro; the old men who fell in corners, like brute beasts, and died of hunger amidst filth. And then came his other hours, with the magnificence or the quietude or the gayety of the *salons* through which he had passed, the whole insolent display of financial Paris, and political Paris, and society Paris. And at last he came to the dusk, and to that Paris-

Sodom and Paris-Gomorrah before him, which was lighting itself up for the night, for the abominations of that accomplice night which, like fine dust, was little by little submerging the expanse of roofs.

To this passage others equally as tragic may be added :

Night was approaching—the first gas-burners were being lighted ; it was the dusk of Paris, the hour when real darkness has not yet come, when the electric lights flame in the dying day. Lamps shone forth upon all sides ; the shop-fronts were fast being illumined. Soon, moreover, right along the boulevards the vehicles would carry their vivid starry lights, like a milky way on the march betwixt the foot pavements all glowing with lanterns and cordons and girandoles, a dazzling profusion of radiance akin to sunlight. And the shouts of the drivers and the jostling of the foot-passengers re-echoed the panting haste of the Paris which is all business or passion, which is absorbed in the merciless struggle for love and for money. The hard day was over, and now the Paris of Pleasure was lighting up for its night of *fête*. The *cafés*, the wineshops, the restaurants, flared and displayed their bright metal bars and their little white tables behind their clear and lofty windows, whilst near their doors, by way of temptation, were oysters and choice fruits. And the Paris which was thus awakening with the first flashes of the gas was already full of the gayety of enjoyment, already yielding to an unbridled appetite for whatsoever may be purchased. . . The whole monstrous night of Paris, all the debauchery and woe that sobbed around him made him shiver. Phantom-like women who when young had led lives of infamy in wealth, and who now old and faded led lives of infamy in poverty, were still and ever wandering past him in search of bread. . . And from all those human beings, stretched there in the night refuges like wounded after a battle, from all that ambulance of life reeking with a stench of rottenness and death, there ascended a nausea born of revolt, the vengeance-prompting thought of all the happy chambers where, at that same hour, the wealthy loved or rested in fine linen and costly lace.

Then, what the writer says of the corruption of politicians, of the venality of judges, and of the diabolical sorceries of such women as Silviane, with the eyes of a Madonna in her head and the beastliness of a Messalina in her heart, gives the last touches to a panorama of an earthly *Inferno*, such as perhaps was never unrolled before the vision of mortals at any previous era in the history of France. If it shall be suggested that probably the novelist in these portrayals merely exaggerates for the purposes of his art, it must with sadness be answered that evidence is furnished to the contrary in one of the leading magazines,[1] where a contributor, with the most brutal bluntness, and in a style approaching to absolute nudity, more than corroborates all M. Zola's representations. This essayist, this chronicler of French demoralization, whose indignation has been roused to fever irritation by the judicial crimes of the law-courts, sums up the situation in a trenchant article, from which a paragraph or two will give the reader an idea of the whole. He writes :

A French official who is at home in the Ministry of War states that at present the entire War Ministry, the General Staff, two-thirds of the cavalry officers, and about one-half of all the other officers, are pupils of the Jesuit fathers and devout children of the church.

Is it to be wondered at that Gambetta's friends in the "Radical" should take a gloomy view of things and say, "At present there is nothing more to lose, not even honor ! . . . There is no Republic any more, neither are there Republicans. There are neither men nor women, but only Jesuits !" Voltaire knew his countrymen well, although it was not given him to see the astonishing things which this generation has seen. And this is how he

[1] "Contemporary Review," March, 1898.

expresses himself in a letter written to D'Alembert in 1766, and which has just been published for the first time by the "*Fronde*": "I shall soon die. I despise this land of monkeys and tigers in which my mother committed the folly of bringing me into the world." . . .

The greedy public policy of colonizing whole continents abroad, the egotistic private practice of limiting families at home to two or three children, the prevalent politico-ritual theology, the apotheosis of the army and the infallibility of its chiefs, the defilement of literature, the prostitution of the drama and of pictorial art to the passions of the human beast, the total negation of science, the universal conviction that the nation is invincible by land and by sea, and the concomitant prodito-mania, combined with the cheerful certitude that France is still the light and life of the world, are inevitable consequences of the four conditions enumerated above, and unerring symptoms of the dire disease which has eaten into the vitals of the citizens of the Third Republic.

Facts, if not altogether stranger than fiction, must be considered, in view of this indictment, as equally taxing to credulity. And yet a mass of proof, furnished by the French people themselves, compels us to believe that the authors we have cited are entitled to our confidence. If they are to be credited, then we are contemplating a mighty nation in decay, a sadder spectacle than the death of a mountain in the Engadine so pathetically described by Michelet. In the East, according to Mr. Balfour, China is succumbing to an attack of catalepsy which deprives her of the power of resistance; but in the West, France is perishing from ego-mania, erotomania, libidinous realism, delirious diabolism, and hysterical chauvinism. And the cause? Where is it to be sought? Wherein lies the fatal defect which accounts for this disastrous state of affairs? The novelist replies: "Christianity." If by that he

means "Jesuitism," he is not far wrong; for Jesuitism has been expelled more than once from nations whose morality and strength are imperiled. The entire order is an incarnate lie and undermines veraciousness, sincerity, and honor wherever it flourishes, and with the uprooting of these virtues a commonwealth is doomed. But, thank God, Christianity is not Jesuitism, and has nothing in common with that monstrous system born of the "very Ahriman of badness," Ignatius Loyola. But if M. Zola desires to be understood as laying the blame for French demoralization on the religion of the Gospels, we venture to appeal from his judgment to that of the Comte de Paris. Just before his death the heir to the throne of his fathers gave expression to the following sentiments:

> We cannot, indeed, believe that God has forever forsaken France, the country to which he gave St. Louis and Jeanne d'Arc. But to raise herself to her true level she must once more become a Christian nation. A nation that has lost the sense of religion, where passions no longer feel the restraint of any curb, where those that suffer retain no longer the hope of a future life as a motive to endure patiently their lot, is doomed to defeat itself, to rend itself asunder, and become the prey of foreign and domestic foes. The first duty of my friends is to rescue France from the fatal apathy that would lead to such a catastrophe. I hope that in that work of salvation they will be joined by all honest men, who some day cannot fail by experience to be enlightened. This is the last wish of the exile from the Fatherland, to which he recommends his children ever to remain faithful and true.

There is an accent of authority in this explanation, uttered on the threshold of eternity, altogether lacking in the romantic rhetoric of the *littérateur*. It carries with it conviction. Thoughtful people, reflecting on its

solemn significance, will hardly venture to dispute the testimony of the dying prince. He had every opportunity of knowing the real condition of his kingly heritage, and no unworthy motive could have actuated him on the close of his painful career. The truth fell from his lips. France is what she is to-day, vain, proud, turbulent, immoral and immodest, licentious and lawless, because she has ceased to be reverent and devout; has befouled the holiest of all in the temple of the soul, has rejected God, and has sought to defame and degrade Jesus Christ, as M. Zola himself has done in "*La Terre*," where in the excess of his *mania blasphematoria* he mockingly gives the name "that is above every name" to a poor wretch grotesquely afflicted with flatulency.

It is surprising that the author of the trilogy has not already discovered in his own works, especially in "Paris," an unintentional, but at the same time an unanswerable, verification of what the comte set forth so plaintively in his last will and testament. The novelist is bewitched and enchanted by the various merits of the great city on the Seine. Language fails him when he seeks to do justice to its many charms. He is an enthusiast on the subject of Paris, or was before his own trial by the authorities for holding to certain opinions in the Dreyfus case. On the lips of one of his heroes he places a eulogy full of extravagances. A portion of this remarkable piece of bathos we have in these brief sentences:

> Paris was the world's brain. Its past, so full of grandeur, had prepared it for the part of initiator, civilizer, and liberator. Only yesterday it had cast the cry of liberty among the nations, and to-morrow it would bring them the religion of science, the new faith

awaited by the democracies. And Paris was also gayety, kindness, and gentleness, passion for knowledge, and generosity without limit.

Does he mean this to be taken in sober earnest? Has France attained to the "religion of science"? Of course, if she is about to assume the *rôle* of missionary she must already possess the new faith. But conceding that she has only acquired it in part, the question will arise: Why has it not in some perceptible degree obviated the social wrongs and moral evils from which, according to M. Zola, the entire community is suffering? He undoubtedly cherishes the belief that Paris has far more of the religion of science than any other city. She is exceptionally great in this respect, and even "outside barbarians" are not unwilling to recognize her intellectual and scientific attainments. But the more fully her primacy in these particulars is established the more clearly is it proven by her state of moral dilapidation and social wretchedness that she needs for her real welfare some other religion than the alleged religion of science. If the proposed substitute for the gospel is such a disastrous failure in the place of its birth, and especially where it transcends in glory, we are surely warranted in concluding that it never can rescue mankind from injustice, iniquity, and infamy. Indeed, as Paris seems to be going more swiftly to the bad in proportion as the new evangel of science is being proclaimed, it ought to be evident to M. Zola, as it is to every one else, that the re-enthronement of Jesus Christ and his truth is absolutely necessary to its regeneration and leadership.

Presumably the novelist places a high estimate upon

his own works. It is reasonable to suppose that he has conceived them and produced them in the spirit of the evangel he proclaims. If to Zola science is the world's Christ, then surely his various volumes may be taken as the very gospel of the new Messiah. There we may expect to find the ethical system, the encouragements, hopes, and aims of the message which is to prove a message of glad tidings to the coming centuries.

Moreover, from his pen consecrated to the good cause, we have a right to look for influences which make for the conservation of morals and the uplifting of the race. May we not, to some extent then, judge the total worth of the religion of science from the effect of these books, which could not well have been composed otherwise than in its spirit? If it is subjected to this test then is its cause forever bankrupt; for the general opinion of mankind is distinctly unfavorable to their beneficial action on society. To speak plainly, it is believed that these French stories have gone far toward developing the very demoralization from which the republic suffers, and which their author in his latest volume affects so deeply to deplore. They are dreaded by virtuous people as they would fear a swamp near their homes exhaling deadly malaria. Even the Academy of France, whose "immortals" are not usually saints, has strenuously and repeatedly objected to placing its *imprimatur* on the genius which called them into being. And if they are of pernicious tendency, and if they debilitate and degrade, what shall be said of the cult they represent? What if its high priest brings from its altars the fires of devastation and desolation, are we to be blamed for doubting the value of the altars themselves? Nay,

are we not justified in deriding their claims and in once more exalting the religion of Christ, whose spirit has made for enlightenment, enlargement, and for the advancement of the race? The leaves on the tree of science not conducing to the spiritual and ethical healing of the nations, we are bound to conclude, however valuable it may be in other respects, that it is not the tree of life of which if one eat he shall live forever.

But, while we perceive the weakness of M. Zola's position and the fatuity of his hopes, we ought not to be blind to the righteousness of his plea on behalf of justice. We too ought to make common cause with him, as he renders yeoman service on her behalf. He is wrong at almost every point except this one. Here, at least, he speaks the "words of truth and soberness." We have read somewhere that in one of the old cities of Italy the king caused a bell to be hung in a tower and called it the "Bell of Justice." He likewise ordered that any one who had been wronged should ring that bell, and the magistrate should come to his relief. In the course of time the lower part of the rope rotted away, and a wild vine was tied to lengthen it. A starving horse that had been turned out to die in his age, seeing the vine, gnawed it, and in doing so rang the bell. Straightway came the magistrate, and having ascertained in whose service the animal's life had been spent, he said: "The dumb brute has rung the bell of justice, and justice he shall have; the owner shall care for him the rest of his days." Humane magistrate! But is not the bell of justice ringing now? Hark! its solemn strokes fall upon the ear of society, rung by hands hardened with unprofitable toil, by tattered and starved men, women,

and children, who are no more to you great ones than dumb, driven cattle. Listen, listen; let it wake you up! But should you fail to hear, it may rouse the Judge of all the earth, who in his own good time will decree justice; justice that means respite and rest for the oppressed, and retribution and remorse for the oppressor.

A writer in 1853 earnestly said: "The oppressed classes do not want charity but justice; and with simple justice the necessity for charity will disappear or be reduced to the minimum."[1] Ruskin has repeated this idea; and we are satisfied that not until justice shall reign supreme in business and in all other relations, as well as in the administration of law, will society be delivered from the foes which now invade and ravage. This will be more apparent if we will only take pains to form an adequate conception of the comprehensive character of the principle itself. The reflections of wise men will assist us materially in this endeavor. Aristotle regards it as a complex virtue: "For as it is the habit which disposes to allegiance to the laws, and as laws prohibit excesses of every kind and encourage virtues of all kinds, this will have respect to them all." Hence, he adds, that it is moderation, as regulated by wisdom, and that it always gives to every man his own. It consists, according to Cicero, *in suo cuique tribuendo*, in rendering to every one his right. The Pythagoreans regarded it as inclusive of all duties, and the word "righteousness" is employed in the Bible in the same manner. Whewell says that

It excludes cupidity or eagerness in our desires for wealth; all covetousness, or wish to possess what is another's; all partiality

[1] See "Sovereignty of the Individual."

or disposition to deviate from equal rule in judging between ourselves and others. The rule of action is, let each man have his own, except so far as the former rule directs him not to do so. Justice gives to each man his own; but each ought to cling to his own, not from the love of riches, but from the love of justice.

Well may Addison, in view of such an ethical quality as this, exclaim: "To be perfectly just is an attribute of the Divine nature; to be so to the utmost of our abilities is the glory of man"; may we not add, and the glory of society as well? Now, who can doubt that the supremacy of this principle would in a great measure allay strife and bitterness and lead to general prosperity and happiness? Were the authorities to see that all men had their dues; were the members of every community to respect each others' rights; were they "to curb desire within the bounds of the enough"; "were they to widen their means by narrowing their wants"; and were they

> To reverence their conscience as a king
> And glory in redressing human wrong,

there would be ample opportunity for every individual to earn a living; there would be more than sufficient remuneration to meet actual necessities; there would be few, if any, degrading conditions in life; and there would be much more contentment, mutual confidence, and fraternity.

But it is very difficult to be really just. Not many can say of themselves, we are

> Blood trained up nine centuries
> To hound and hate a lie;

and fewer still who are as exacting with themselves as they are with others. It is the boast of many gamblers,

and of Bohemians generally, that they are generous to a fault, and they quietly assume that they have Scripture warrant for the belief that God will take this in full quittance for unpaid board and tailor bills, whatever society may say about it. Thus deluded it is not strange that the rule of equity should be held by a great many persons as of secondary importance only. Nor is this the sole cause that operates to its disadvantage. Somehow we have come to associate the idea of justice with courts of law, with judges, and with the tedious technicalities of jurisprudence. We think of it on the bench, guarded by policemen, and dealing in somnolent platitudes. Having assigned it a specific place in the social economy, it is our aim to keep out of its clutches; and if this can only be done, we lay the flattering unction to our souls that however numerous may be our frauds and oppressions, we are above reproach. Almost anything and everything passes for right in our times that does not land the perpetrator in the penitentiary. So long as such ideas prevail, so long as we invest justice with officialism, as in England it is invested with a wig, and fail to see that it is an every-day principle, applicable to every commonplace relation, and needing no formal and public installation to render it dignified and authoritative, we shall find it next to impossible to cultivate it as a personal virtue indispensable to genuine worthiness of character.

Justice simply is that which renders to every man his due, or what, to phrase it differently, is his right. But this opens a large and serious question: What is the due of every man? How is this to be determined, and what does it involve and guarantee? Rousseau has

called attention to the historic fact that the father of every nation is in some sort a legislator. The names of Moses, Manu, Minos, Solon, Lycurgus, and Numa, substantiate this assertion. But above all these great leaders stands Jesus Christ, who legislated, not for a race or country, but for the world. He gave us, or at least ratified, the Golden Rule,—"As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them,"—which has commended itself to the conscience, reason, and confidence of mankind as the highest formula of social justice. Its hold on the intellectual allegiance of the world is as great to-day as ever, however disloyal the people may be in the conduct of their affairs to its requirements; and on account of its character it is evidently destined to perpetual authority.

Here we have the answer to the question, "What is the due of every man?"—radically and essentially just what is due ourselves. Rendering to all others what we would regard as our right were our positions changed, will come nearer to fulfilling the great idea of justice than any line of action definable. The rule is grounded in the natural equality of humanity, in the native needs of every soul, and in the unquestionable obligation of every other soul not to prevent their supply. Carry out this precept and no woman will be doomed for a beggarly pittance to toil fourteen or sixteen hours a day; no clerk will be compelled to work overtime, as is exacted by some of our wealthiest firms, without an additional compensation; no commercial gambler will trick his customers or appropriate trust funds; no judge will betray the cause of the innocent for a bribe; and no laborer will boycott another because

he is not a member of a trades union; and they will not be guilty of such treatment as they themselves would feel outraged by were they obliged to submit to it in their turn. No argument is surely needed to prove that the practical operations of this rule would dry the tears of thousands, would unify the interests of communities everywhere, would abate arrogance, inspire hope, promote civil order, and diminish crime. We will not suppose it possible that any one can doubt this; and by these desirable results we earnestly urge our readers who are anxious for social reform to leave the quackeries and nostrums of quixotic political economists and adopt and enforce the divinely given Golden Rule.

It may possibly assist them to do so, if they will consider the force of a very profound maxim enunciated by Bossuet in his "*Politique Sacrée*," "There is no right against right," which Lacordaire thinks finds a higher expression in the formula: "There is no right against duty." Taken either way, we have what is evidently a truism, and one admirably fitted to determine the application of Christ's law in almost any given circumstances. There can be no right against right. There are the rights of property and the rights of wealth. These must be respected; but however sacred they may be, they are checked and bounded by the right of labor to adequate compensation and of humanity to freedom and respect. No man has such a right in property as to be at liberty to urge the advantage which it gives to the injury of others. It may be said that in employing workmen the master has the right to obtain their services at the lowest market price. Within reasonable limits this is admitted. But when the price

paid means slow starvation and swift degradation he has no right to avail himself of the distress which places these workmen at his mercy. No amount of special pleading can prove that he is warranted in compelling the misfortunes of others to contribute toward his material prosperity. It is no excuse if he abuses his horses and maltreats them that they are helpless and dependent on him. Society pronounces such a callous wretch deserving of punishment. Even horses have rights that right cannot rightfully invade. How about men? Are they of less worth, and have they fewer claims on their fellows than the lower animals? Suppose we adopt Lacordaire's formula, and see its practical bearing: "There is no right against duty"; that is, no right you may possess can possibly release you from the duties you owe humanity.

What are your duties? Do you acknowledge any? Whether you recognize them or not, among them will be found an obligation to pay what you promise, and an obligation to minister to the well-being and not to the evil being of all about you. You are to respect their manhood and womanhood; you are bound to advance and not to retard their interests; and you are bound to sympathize with them, and do all in your power to promote their happiness. And it is to be borne in mind that just in proportion as you are yourselves privileged by genius, position, and wealth beyond them, are these duties more imperative. There is no significance in leadership if this is not the case. If God has not endowed some men more richly than others and prospered them more abundantly, that they may be living blessings to the world, then their existence is a reflection on the

morality of his government. Such a reflection we resent. Robert Browning interprets better the divine purpose when he writes :

> 'Tis in the advance of individual minds
> That the slow crowd should ground their expectations
> Eventually to follow—as the sea
> Waits ages in its bed, 'till some one wave
> Out of the multitude aspires, extends
> The empire of the whole, some feet perhaps,
> Over the strip of sand which could confine
> Its fellows so long a time : thenceforth the rest,
> Even to the meanest, hurry in at once,
> And so much is clear gain.

They are to open the way for others ; they are to help others over barriers and impediments ; and they are to champion their cause and encourage their endeavors. Their privileges correctly construed, mean obligations, and their fulfillment is not to be regarded as a favor conferred, but a debt discharged. Right to own a million dollars or ten million, and rights of brain or of skill, do not exempt, cannot exempt, from the performance of duty.

Take this thought and you will find no serious difficulty in applying the Golden Rule ; for even when you are in doubt as to what is really your neighbor's due, the consideration of your own duty will readily decide the point ; and, as Schiller sings :

> Thus linked the master with the man,
> Each in his rights can each revere.

And not only so, but thus all classes, ranks, and orders would be bound together, and society as a whole would

be cemented, strengthened, prospered. This is our hope. Let justice be thus exalted, and then as Horace expresses it, "man's neck will have no yoke that sorrow draws," and "the wildest blasts that heave the sea will awake no fear of wreck."

It is curious to observe, after M. Zola's picturesque and dramatical endeavor to prove that this hope is grounded in science, or in the religion of science, that he weakly damages his own contention by the expression of natural, though in his case most ruinous, doubts. He acknowledges that he is not sure. This confession is not open and straightforward. Evidently he is somewhat ashamed of it; and yet he cannot altogether suppress it. His line of thought has been determined by the supposition that if externals are changed for the better, then mankind must necessarily prosper and be happy. But before he closes he is confronted with the question whether environment is everything, and whether a tiger would cease to ravage and snarl and slay were he transferred from a jungle to an Eden, or whether a brute man would be other than a brute were he removed from a Batignolles garret to the *salons* of the Duvillards? He is perplexed. At the last he falters and is uneasy. He queries with himself painfully and seriously:

> Supposing that the apparently insolvable problem of destroying everything and beginning everything afresh, should ever be solved, who could promise that mankind, obedient to the same laws, would not again follow the same paths as formerly? After all, mankind nowadays is simply what life has made it, and nothing proves that life would again make it other than it is. To begin afresh—ah, yes; but to attain another result! But could

that other result really come from man? Was it not rather man himself who should be changed?

Probably, most likely. Yea, certainly; if One who "spoke with authority" two thousand years ago, and not as the novelists, is to be believed. Jesus Christ enunciated the fundamental condition of the true Christian sociology when he said to Nicodemus, "Ye must be born again." His saying startled the amiable ruler of the Jews, and it has since been frequently made the theme for sarcasm and irreverent laughter. Hard-headed practicalists have jeered at it as pure fancy and poetry; and even the pulpit has not always treated it with the respect it deserves. But now the foremost realist in fiction, while avowedly decrying Christianity, seems half inclined to subscribe to this teaching, one of the most radical in its entire system of doctrine. All unconsciously, and with charming *naïveté*, he joins hands with the religion he has done everything to discredit. "Was it not rather man himself who should be changed?" Unquestionably. Society demands a new creature if it is to be a new creation. The pictures of modern life as painted by M. Zola, as well as his hesitating query, warrant this conviction. Civilization is the counterpart of the civilizer, and always will be. That which is without proceeds from that which is within; and if the streams continue bitter it will be because the spring has not been sweetened.

From this we are not to infer that efforts should not be made to improve external conditions. Far from it; for these endeavors, both in their inception and execution, have an educational value, and help to refashion

the race. But we should learn to attach the greatest importance to the intellectual, moral, and spiritual agencies which have for their end the begetting in humanity of a nature freed from prevailing limitations. Schools, colleges, literature, should be highly prized, and with them not the least those works on sociology which are essentially altruistic, and which, though they may lack in scientific precision, contribute directly toward the formation of an unselfish character. And we venture to maintain that above all other agencies the religion of our Lord, revealed in the Gospels, ought to be revered and cherished. For not only is its message to the individual, "Ye must be born again"; its influence, likewise, on communities, through its action on the individual, is to bring them into the enjoyment of a purer and grander social life. This, we trust, will be made clear in our present undertaking; and if we succeed, not only will it be proven that M. Zola's evangel is as fatal to everything most earnestly to be desired as it is fictitious, but that he himself and all others who defame the mission of Christianity, are either the most misguided or the most mischievous of mortals.

CHAPTER II

THE CLERGY AND SOCIAL REFORM

THOMAS CARLYLE regards the man speaking of spiritual things to men,

Even in its great obscuration and decadence, as among the beautifulest, most touching objects one sees on the earth. . . This speaking man has, indeed, in these times, wandered terribly from the point ; has, alas, as it were, totally lost sight of the point ; yet, at bottom, whom have we to compare with him ? . . A man even professing, and never so languidly making still some endeavor, to save the souls of men. Contrast him with a man professing to do little but shoot the partridges of men ! I wish he could find the point again, this Speaking One ; and stick to it with tenacity, with deadly energy ; for there is need of him yet ! . . Could he but find the point again, take the old spectacles off his nose, and looking up, discover almost in contact with him, what the real Satanas, and soul-devouring, world-devouring devil, now is ! Original Sin and such-like are bad enough, I doubt not ; but distilled Gin, dark Ignorance, Stupidity, dark Corn-law, Bastille and Company, what are they ? Will he discover our new real Satan whom he has to fight or go on droning through his old nose-spectacles about old extinct Satans, and never see the real one till he feel him at his own throat and ours ?[1]

Evidently this Scottish Thor in these vigorous passages is hammering away at the clergy, and the church represented by the clergy, for their failure to enter sympathetically and effectively into the settlement of grave issues which involve the future welfare of mankind.

[1] "Past and Present," Book IV., : Chap. 1.

Neither is he alone in this attitude of criticism and condemnation. Mr. Frederick Harrison, a writer whose opinions are entitled to respect, whatever may be said of his philosophy, gives utterance to this judgment:

> The power of Christianity for the moral life of the individual was one which Positivism has always recognized; but the power of Christianity for the intellectual, scientific, or political life of nations in a revolutionary age, or for the industrial life of the present generation, was a problem of the day. It was there that Christianity not only failed, but was criminally complacent to the evils.

And it is this complacency which excites the severest censures, and which calls forth the loudest remonstrances. Mr. Harry Lloyd, president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, not long since took up this subject in Boston, and in the course of his address, remarked:

> The last time I went to church I was ushered up to the front seat by a dandily dressed young man, and there I sat until the minister preached. In his sermon he called for the blessings of God upon the business men of the community, upon the manufacturers, and others, but not one word about the poor workingman, nor the poverty-stricken girls. . . The people are losing faith in the church, and have long since been discouraged of receiving assistance from that source.

A sad illustration of this indecent apathy is furnished by Professor R. T. Ely,[1] who on inquiring of the bakers of New York and Brooklyn how far the ministers of those cities had seconded their efforts in obtaining one day of rest in seven, received the following reply:

> The Sunday law was not even presented to that Legislature. . . Relying on what the clergy will ever do to assist in enforcing

[1] "Social Aspects of Christianity," p. 45.

Sabbath laws is equal to relying on a rain of manna that may make labor superfluous. . . These gentlemen are more interested in the movement of boodle than in the movement of labor. . . . I consented to convince our men that I was right. They are convinced to-day. Out of five hundred circulars sent to the clergy of New York and Brooklyn, half a dozen answered. You will have a hard time, professor, to convince the toilers of this country that the clergy will ever do anything for them. There is no money in it, you know.

Similar complaints he quotes from the "Diary" of the late Earl of Shaftesbury, who was in every sense a Christian philanthropist. When recording his efforts to secure measures favorable to the well-being of women and children in England, he writes:

I find that evangelical religionists are not those on whom I can rely. The factory question, and every question for what is called "humanity," receives as much support from the "men of the world," as from men who say they will have nothing to do with it. No stir as yet in behalf of my "Children's Employment Commission." I cannot discern how, humanly speaking, I have ever made any progress at all. To whom should I have naturally looked for the chief aid? Why, undoubtedly, to the clergy, and especially those of the trading districts. Quite the reverse; from them I have received no support, or next to none; one or two, in their individual capacity, have given me encouragement, and wished me Godspeed, but as a body, or even numerously, though singly, they have done, are doing, and will do, nothing. And this throughout my whole career, There are grand and blessed exceptions; thank God for them! . . .

I find, as usual, the clergy are, in many cases, frigid; in some few, hostile. So it has ever been with me. At first I could get *none;* at last I have obtained a few, but how miserable a proportion of the entire class! The ecclesiastics as a mass are perhaps as good as they can be under any institution of things where human nature can have full swing; but they are timid, time-

serving, and great worshipers of wealth and power. I can scarcely remember an instance in which a clergyman has been found to maintain the cause of laborers in the face of pewholders.

It does seem from these excerpts as though Carlyle was not entirely wrong; and as though "the point" is not always clearly seen by "the Right-Reverend and Wrong-Reverend clergy of every degree." But then it must be remembered, as Shaftesbury concedes, that there are exceptions, brilliant exceptions, and many exceptions. His own hands were strengthened by such men as Bickersteth, and the cause of social reform is indebted for much of its popular strength to a Maurice, a Kingsley, a Manning, a Clifford, and a Mark Guy Pearse.

Then there are explicable reasons, if not justifiable ones, why not a few preachers should seem to be indifferent to the tremendous evils which are overshadowing contemporaneous life, and why they should fail to bear their part in suppressing them altogether. In various localities churches resent the introduction of what they are pleased to call secular topics into the pulpit, especially if they in any way reflect on the assumptions of capital, or plead for a higher wage and better conditions of existence for the children of toil. During a somewhat extended and varied ministry I have usually had to endure a running fire from the pew whenever I have ventured to discuss such subjects as fewer working hours, or more humane treatment of girls and women or the advantage to society of reforms which in all likelihood would diminish the dividends of certain corporations. As long as I have contented myself with vaporish and feathery generalities, and with fluffy sen-

timentality, I have been let alone; but whenever I have advocated specific measures, I have generally been treated as Howells declares Tolstoi has been regarded ever since he accepted Christ's message, as erratic or crazy, or as inclining dangerously toward the Avernus of anarchy. At such times some pious bondholder has significantly whispered, "preach the gospel"; and other pastors, when they have protested that street-car conductors should not be despoiled of their rest day, and ought not to be on duty fourteen hours, and when they have rebuked the authorities for shooting helpless miners in the streets, or have raised their voices against lynching, or have pleaded for more equal distribution of the good things of life, have frequently been reminded that they should "preach the gospel." For according to these critics, "to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord"; "to deal bread to the hungry, and when the naked is seen to cover him, and not to hide one's self from one's own flesh"; and to cry, "Behold, the hire of your laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud"; and "Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth and been wanton"—is not the preaching of the gospel.

Had I ever yielded to such a travesty of the "goodwill" sung of by the angels and exemplified by the Christ, I should, with my views of personal responsibility, never have been able to look my fellow-beings in the face. But I can well understand how many clergymen, reared differently from myself, and perhaps timid by nature, while loving humanity, have been unable to

withstand the vigorous antagonism of men on whom they have to rely in church circles, or to endure the caustic comments called forth by their earnest pleadings. It requires something more than courage to receive meekly the haughty reprimands of the new rich, and to submit to being told by some tradesman, who in youth seldom went to school, and has read little save the headlines in the daily press, that study and investigation have been in vain, and that the pulpit is necessarily incompetent to deal with social problems. If some sensitive souls shrink from the assaults of the vulgar, and if they begin to wonder whether, after all, they would not better be silent, it is not, perhaps, altogether surprising. These pastors are not exactly craven, neither are they unkind and unfeeling. But situated as they are, they merely shut out the vision of the misery that lies before them in the world, and absorb themselves in their theologic and archæologic studies and quietly go about their parish duties. One reason why the pulpit seems to be indifferent to the sad tragedy being enacted throughout society is that the pew has so large a stake in the proceeds of the drama.

A highly esteemed representative of Massachusetts in the United States Senate on an important occasion addressed these pregnant remarks to his constituents:

> It is not strange that the people of the new States who see colossal fortunes acquired by forbidden ways, by the fraudulent management of great railroads, by the perversions of corporate powers, bestowed by government for public use and for public ends, or by gambling in stocks or in the necessaries of life, should strive to imitate the example on a smaller scale. It is not strange that a Kansas or Nebraska farmer, who reads the railroad history of the

section of the country to which he belongs, should lend a ready ear and become a docile disciple to a plan by which he can use the powers of the government for his own advantage, by getting rid of the burden of debt. It is not strange that the example of gambling by tampering with the currency, or in the stock market, or wheat market, should stir up the youth of the Northwest to attempt a little manipulation of the currency for their own benefit.

In reading this passage from his speech, I could but mentally felicitate Mr. Hoar that he had not uttered such sentiments as a clergyman. Had he ventured to do so in some pulpits, as an ordained minister, what a commotion would have been created. How "Blanche, Sweetheart & Tray" would have gone yelping at his heels; how he would have been denounced for calling in question the benignity of stock and wheat gambling; and how he would have been condemned for insinuating that any of our money magnates had acquired their colossal fortunes through the "fraudulent management of great railroads." Happy senator, who could say such terrible things and yet be permitted in peace to cogitate beneath his own vine and fig tree. If he had been a preacher and not a politician, he would most likely have been admonished "to preach the gospel," although his words embody a very gospel, and indeed the true gospel of right doing for which the world has been suffering so long.

I am not aware that Mr. Hoar was rebuked for his temerity. Probably wealthy Republicans may have been grieved at the outspoken integrity of their honored leader; but if they were they made no sign. They knew that it would not do to withdraw their support from him because of his radical and old-fashioned ideas

of commercial honesty. To make an issue with him on this subject would be to alienate from the party a considerable portion of the popular vote. While, therefore, their susceptibility may have been wounded, they quietly ignored the offensive expressions of the senator, as the interests of the party demanded that the people should not be driven to revolt. Both Democrats and Republicans are ready to tolerate plain statements as to the wrongs inflicted by corporate bodies and by the manipulator of markets, and occasionally to embody in their platforms protests against certain trade iniquities, so that they may keep in touch with the masses, who some fine day may use the franchise to sweep away political favoritism and put an end to that precious species of State paternalism which insists on protecting those who are best able to protect themselves.

But mark how different is the course which not a few congregations pursue when their preacher echoes the woes pronounced of old by Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. Then men of moderate means, imagining themselves to be millionaires in embryo, of moderate position, of moderate intelligence, and usually of less than moderate piety, whose affluence and abundance lie mainly in the direction of narrowness and bigotry, evoke the heavens wonderingly and indignantly to contemplate their pastor, who must be bordering on the inebriety of socialism thus to intimate that the rich are not wiser, better, and nobler than other men, especially than this publican—the toiling, tramping, troubled million. These gentlemen who usually vote for the Hoars of the Republican party, and possibly do so reluctantly, frequently take their spite out on the unfortunate preachers who may

not vote for the Hoars, but who thank God for their protest against corruption. They are not willing that the party should lose its hold on the people, and consequently they tolerate in its leaders divergence from their own selfish, meagre schemes of political economy; but apparently they are careless whether the church loses its hold on the world by studied indifference to its welfare or not. In politics they would not dare to act as they do in religion. They realize that in the former domain they must fail if not sustained by the commonalty; and if they do not also realize, they ought from this hour to begin to realize, that whatever prejudices now exist on the part of the working-classes toward Christianity, and whatever losses she has temporarily suffered in consequence, are largely due to the offensive and purblind sycophancy of certain money-grubbing disciples, and to their twaddle about preaching the gospel when the prophet of God is publishing to mankind glad tidings of better wages, better food, better clothing, and a fairer share in the good things of God's gracious providence, both temporal and spiritual.

But this is not the only influence at work. Most of the ministers of Christ have been taught that their vocation is so purely spiritual that they have little, if any, care for the improvement of the present world. Their special business is to save souls, and if they can do that they need not perplex their brains with economic or political issues. Thousands of consecrated clergymen believe this, or something like this, very sincerely. They have never felt it incumbent on them to study sociology. Their hearts are with the poor, but what can they say to them about deliverance from wrongs

and sorrows? They are themselves confused by the inequalities of existence, and they are distressed. It is impossible for them to guide others when they are not instructed themselves. It is not with them a question either of courage or cowardice. They are ready to go into a yellow fever hospital, or to brave death in equatorial Africa, should duty call, but they hesitate to plunge into discussions which would compel them to transcend their legitimate sphere. Their own ideas of duty and of the clerical province and function restrain and restrict them to a particular class of subjects; and with these they do not include industrial problems. Knowing the strength of professional bias, I can make allowance for the failure of these representatives of Christ to stand out boldly on behalf of sound economic principles, and see no reason to accuse them of mercenary motives.

But the time is rapidly drawing to an end when such consideration will be permissible. There is a waking up to the church's responsibility for the existing state of affairs in the world. On all sides the appeal comes to her from the "disendowed classes" that she will compassionate their needs and do something to vindicate their right to just and humane treatment. Her ministers must speak; they must enter the arena of conflict or be forever discredited as the ambassadors of Him who, in caring for the souls of the multitude, refused not to heal the body. "At the times of this ignorance God winked," and society has winked too; "but now he commands," and society commands as well, "all men" in the pulpit "to repent," and "to bring forth fruits meet for repentance."

This conviction has been with the author of these

pages for many years, and he has never knowingly hesitated to speak and write accordingly. It is this conviction that now constrains him to do what he can to advance the dawning of the clearer and fairer day when the Social State shall prevail for the blessing of mankind. He confesses at the outset to a strong bias on the side of the poor, the illiterate, and despairing. It is their cause he would particularly plead. While he dare not go so far as Basil, and say, "The rich are thieves"; or, with John Chrysostom, assert that they are "brigands," and that "everything ought to be in common," he yet believes that the excessively affluent under present social conditions have too much power, too many exclusive privileges, and, in some respects, constitute the most dangerous class of the "dangerous classes" of a community. He has found it impossible to keep from his mind such questions as perplexed Bossuet when he wrote: "Why should one fortunate mortal live in abundance, able to satisfy his every little useless fancy, while another, every whit his equal, cannot maintain his poor family, or even procure for them sufficient food to allay the gnawing pangs of hunger?" How frequently have this and similar queries agitated and confused mankind; and how natural, when they have been considered, for thought and speech to champion the interests of the wretched, even to the extent of doing injustice to the favored.

This extreme partisanship is wrong. The writer of these words is fully conscious of this; and yet, when cruel inequalities force themselves on his attention, he finds himself falling into it. Perhaps it is unavoidable. Certainly the wealthy have defenders enough; and after

all, it is not their condition social science seeks to improve, but that of the toiling, struggling masses. God knows I would not, if I may be allowed to speak in the first person, willingly do them any wrong. But I am honest enough to avow my sympathies. They are on the side of the lowly and poor. I would lighten their burdens, I would dry their tears, I would diminish their sorrows, increase their joys, multiply their privileges, stimulate their ambition, and save them from vice, ignorance, and despair, and from the equally fatal political and social illusions by which false friends are luring them to ruin. The more I think on their deplorable condition the more intently do I find myself passionately inquiring with Elliot:

> When wilt thou save the people?
> O God of mercy, when?
> The people, Lord, the people!
> Not thrones and crowns, but men!
> Flowers of thy heart, O God, are they;
> Let them not pass like weeds away,
> Their heritage a sunless day!
> God save the people!

If, however, ministers and churches are to interpose directly in the spirit of this verse on behalf of the suffering masses, it is clear that they should be led to see that such benevolent action accords with the genius of Christianity. Moreover, it is equally important that they should be made to realize, and with them the public at large, that, notwithstanding the failure of many of her representatives, Christianity has exerted a mighty and, on the whole, a beneficent influence on the development of society. It is not necessary to this belief that her

mission as a spiritual and saving religion should be challenged. She is primarily a redeeming force, rescuing the immortal soul from sin, shame, and suffering. She has a divine incarnation to proclaim, an efficacious atonement to offer, a strange and gracious renewal of human nature to promote, an all-glorious resurrection from the dead to herald. Her head is encircled with the wonders of eternity, and her voice is the voice of heavenly compassion wooing the children of men from thraldom to the seen, but her feet are the ways of men, and her hands are consecrated to their earthly welfare. The one aspect of her character and work does not diminish the splendor of the other. They are reciprocally necessary and helpful. A religion not supernatural in origin, and one that does not bring the assurance of God's pardon to the conscience and of everlasting felicity to the heart, could hardly speak in authoritative accents when proclaiming moral and social duties; and a religion that cared not for the condition of mankind on earth, and that failed to produce the fruits of righteousness in the life, would be self-condemned and discredited by its very emptiness and soullessness.

Christianity, therefore, while saving men and women in the world, and taking them to a salvation beyond the world, is also pledged by her genius and her teachings to save the world itself. To this all of her injunctions against the abuses and misuses of wealth apply, and to this all of her thoughtful concern for the family, the slave, and the child relates. Why shall we suppose that the spirit of all the gracious legislation of the Jewish State concerning the rights of property and the higher rights of humanity has been superseded by

the new economy? By what principle of interpretation do we uphold the Golden Rule, and yet remand to obscurity as obsolete this Levitical exemplification of its practical working?

And the Levite, (because he hath no part nor inheritance with thee,) and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat, and be satisfied; that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.

And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him: yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him, or increase, but fear thy God; that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.

Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God: I am the Lord.

And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God.

Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure.

Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin, shall ye have: I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt.

Has the Old Testament been set aside entirely? Has it no message to the new time? Is it practically of no real value? When I remember that the Sermon on the Mount, and the ethical exhortations of St. Paul have almost exclusive reference to the present world,

furnishing rules of conduct for ordinary people here, and not for angels in heaven, and when I consider that the actions described in the judicial parables on which judgments are pronounced are in the main of a temporal and social character, I conclude that our religion, while not of the world, was designed to transform the world. One of two theories on this subject has ever been maintained by contending factions in the church. The first assumes that the design of the gospel is merely to call out a people from among the perishing, and that society, rejecting the call, is left to grow worse and worse, sinking more and more in deadly wickedness. On this assumption all that the saints can do is to utter their protest against sin and evil, and to extend now and then assistance to the unfortunate. But they have no vocation to society as such. That is doomed. It is slowly being submerged in its own mire, and shall finally be blighted and obliterated by divine wrath. This hypothesis renders the study or preaching of sociological doctrines vain and foolish. Manifestly, if it is true, the supreme and only duty of the clergyman is to warn his parishioners of the impending catastrophe, and to entreat them to escape from the city of destruction.

But if this conception is abandoned, and the other theory is accepted, the theory that proclaims the triumph of the gospel on the earth, then it follows that its transforming power is to be exercised on the institutions of society. While the speculations of the church have alternated between these two extremes, historically she has been interpreting her mission in harmony with the latter. Though she may not always have acted wisely, nor even consistently, she has per-

petually been interfering in the affairs of men, as though impelled by an irresistible destiny to fashion the politics, economics, and other interests of mankind after a divine ideal. And in this manner she has been demonstrating, even though at times, as Carlyle intimates, her clergy may have "lost the point," that she was designed to be by her Founder, and is fitted to be, a most potent sociological force.

Philo, the philosophical Jew, writes, in words as appropriate for our age as for his:

> Man is a social animal by nature. Therefore he must live not only by himself, but for parents, brothers, wife, children, relatives, and friends, for the members of his deme and of his tribe, for his country, for his race, for all mankind. Nay, he must live for the parts of the whole, and also for the entire world, and much more for the Father and the Creator. If he is indeed possessed of reason he must be sociable, he must love the world and God, that of God he may be beloved.

Plato, likewise, contends in his "Republic," and in his dialogue entitled "Protagoras," as Aristotle does in his "Politics," that there is in all men affinity for the social state. Locke also argues that God has made them not only with an inclination and under a necessity to have fellowship with those of their own kind, but has furnished them with language, which is the great instrument and common tie of brotherhood. And Ferguson has confirmed these testimonies by showing that "mankind have always wandered or settled, agreed or quarreled in troops and companies." The Frenchman, Alfred Fouillée, maintains that the same law which produced the worlds and the constellations, produced also human society. His words are:

Les mêmes lois qui ont produit les mondes et les constellations produisent donc les sociétés humaines, avec cette différence, que ce qui était dans les uns lumière extérieure et mouvement fatal, devient dans les autres lumière intérieure, conscience, et mouvement volontaire.[1]

The discrimination he here draws does not detract in the least from the conviction that both domains have proceeded from a necessary and irreversible law. Indeed, history conclusively proves that the social instinct —*societatis appetitus* of Grotius—is strong, that it impels the race to combine and organize, and that when such combinations are impaired or deranged it inevitably restores them in the old forms or in fresh ones.

Thus then society is not artificial in its origin, but natural and divine, and therefore, as long as man remains man and as long as God rules over the world, we may confidently expect it in some shape to exist. But in what shape? We know that its spirit, institutions, methods, and manners have undergone frequent changes, and that it has never yet attained to such a degree of perfection as to dispense with the service of reformers. Evils have ever afflicted it, and unquestionably there is still room for indefinite improvement. How it shall be molded, how fashioned and ordered, that in the future it may more adequately and beneficently discharge its functions than in the past, is the vital question of the hour.

To the solution of this question Christianity is related both doctrinally and dynamically. It is at once a matrix and a motor, and has contributed an ideal and an impulse. Not only is it architectonical in designing skill,

[1] "*La Science Sociale*," p. 421

but in constructive energy as well. From it we have received the norm of the Social State, in the evolution of which it has played the most important part. But to comprehend fully what these statements really signify, it is necessary that we should pursue two lines of inquiry and determine as clearly as possible,

I. What is meant by the Social State?

II. In what way and how far has Christianity furthered its evolution?

CHAPTER III

OTHER STATES AND THE SOCIAL STATE

AS we review the history of organized communities, national and tribal, we can hardly fail to observe that each in its turn has been governed by some masterful idea or aim, which has lent color to its constitution, its laws, and its achievements. In Sparta, for instance, the military idea prevailed, and to it child-life, the position of woman, and regulations touching personal freedom and personal possessions, were thoroughly subordinated. Her glory was derived from her soldiers, and not, as in Athens, from art and general culture. She produced no such men as Themistocles, Pericles, or Socrates, and contributed hardly anything but examples of warlike energy toward the progress of mankind. When she ordered weak and sickly children to be thrown into a place called Apothetæ, a cavern in the mountain of Taygetus; when she divided the land among the people, and instituted the use of public tables; and when she condemned luxury and taught her women to prize heroism over every other virtue, she had in mind first and last the creation of soldiers. As a consequence she was harsh in discipline, narrow in patriotism, limited in resources, cruel in pastimes, abrupt in speech, ignoring continually the rights of the individual, and rendering impossible the cultivation of the amenities which go far toward counteracting many evils of existence.

Sparta supplies the model of what may be termed the military State, pure and simple, and is itself an illustration of the misery engendered by every approximation to this type of government. To some extent the republic of Rome in its primitive period comformed to her example. The Constitution of Servius Tullius identified the army with the commonwealth. "When the legion went forth to battle, with its heavy armed citizens in the center, its mounted nobles upon both wings, its scantily furnished proletarians in the rear, it was in reality a mimic Rome, which girt in iron and bristling with steel, opposed itself to the enemy." [1] Undoubtedly this union of the military with the civil powers in great measure accounts for the splendor which encircled the Eternal City in the early days of its history. But as time wore on, and as the imperial idea arose, the army became a source of weakness to the government, and of incalculable evils to the commonwealth, precipitating the ruin of both. Truly has it been said:

> The legion felt itself to be the king-maker wherever stationed, or however employed; but when one king-maker was found in Syria, another in Britain, and a third in the Dalmatian Provinces, or Upper Germany, each eager to imitate the successful dictation of the other, the result was utter anarchy, with unceasing alternations of treason, bloodshed, and misery.[2]

And whenever in our own age an effort is made to exalt the fighting man as the central figure of society, and where war, "the pastime of kings," is made the serious affair of a nation, there progress is retarded, poverty

[1] "Fall of Rome," p. 48, Sheppard. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

engendered, and spoliation—spoliation of the masses at home and of the helpless heathen abroad—is extenuated as a necessity, if not glorified as a virtue.

Few people realize that to-day the European governments which occupy the territory of the old Roman Empire employ far more troops than were ever maintained at any one time by the former mistress of the world. Over four million, more probably five million, armed men are withdrawn from industrial pursuits to defend the frontiers and extend the dominion of various modern war-gods. The forces of the empire regularly enrolled on sea and land were only one hundred and ninety-one thousand men,[1] though it is admitted that auxiliaries under Marcus Aurelius brought the figures up to two hundred and fifty-eight thousand two hundred and fifty-eight. And yet it would hardly be fair to assert that now any European State is absolutely and exclusively military in its genius and organization. Russia, Germany, and Austria probably approach nearer to the ideal than any other country. But even in those we find that militarism is complicated with its twin curse imperialism. Nevertheless, though modified, the prominence assigned to the soldier, and the important part he plays in the plans and calculations of European cabinets, are responsible for the survival of innumerable evils, and rise as an impenetrable barrier to the advance of the Social State.

Kindred to this, and almost inseparable from it, and equally maleficent, is that imperialism to which I have alluded, of which we have the first example in Rome and the latest in certain autocratic rulers of the old

[1] Sheppard's "Fall of Rome," p. 23.

world. The Imperial State has little, if anything, in common with the Social State, and is indeed its antipodes. It is foreign to its spirit and subversive of its aims. Imperialism unduly and artificially exalts an individual above the entire community and renders the community dependent on his arbitrary will and fancies, and blindly subordinates the welfare of the many to the ambitions and passions of the one. Everything is made tributary to the ease, affluence, happiness, and glory of the crowned Cæsar. For him, for his dynasty, for his luxurious pleasures, for his senseless wars, and for his empty pomps and puerile dignities, all citizens must consent to be robbed by taxation, must yield their bodies to his ambitious designs, and frequently the bodies of their sisters to his lust, and must rest content to be nothing that he may be everything. And yet, even in our age, this concentration and consolidation of the powers of government in one man has been extolled as desirable and as worthy of emulation. Gibbon has encouraged this singular infatuation in stating that the world was never happier than in the period following the demise of Domitian ; and others have aided by commending extravagantly the merits of those who are specifically called "the good emperors." But these eulogists do not explain why, under so admirable a system, the empire gradually declined and the condition of the people went from bad to worse. Neither do they make plain how it came to pass that under this excellent rule irreligion and immorality developed their grossest forms, nor how corruption, pollution, and sensuality reigned audaciously from the Suburra to the Palatine. Let us not be deceived. As an eminent scholar has said: "The

empire was converted into a brothel and a slaughter house in the reign of Nero and Domitian ; it was brought to the hammer upon the death of Pertinax, and was finally delivered over as a prey to the bow and spear of the Ostrogoth and the Lombard."

The impartial verdict of history is against the claims of imperialism, and fatal to the encomiums of its bedazzled admirers. Nor has its pernicious and even blasphemous character changed in recent times. Augustus was reverenced, if not worshiped, as a god, and even Nero was adored by his degraded age. All this seems incredible until we read a short chapter in contemporaneous German official life. Not long ago, when Prince Henry was about to undertake a command in connection with the occupation of China, he addressed his imperial brother as "Most august emperor, most mighty king and lord, illustrious brother," and then proceeded to say :

> Of one thing I may assure your majesty : neither fame nor laurels have charms for me. One thing is the aim that draws me on, it is to declare in foreign lands the gospel of your majesty's hallowed person (*das Evangelium Eurer Majestäts geheiligter Person im Auslande zu künden*), to preach it to every one who will hear it, and also to those who will not hear it. This gospel I will have inscribed on my banner, and I will inscribe it whithersover I go.

And then he ended this choice bit of shameless adulation with the summons to his followers : "Let the cry resound far over the world, Most august, most mighty, beloved emperor, king, and lord forever and ever. *Hoch ! Hoch ! Hoch !*" And this silly theatricality, this profane homage, approaching idolatry, this nauseating

sycophancy, is imperialism. And if this abject servility is expected in a prince of the blood, to what lower depths must an ordinary mortal descend who would secure the favor of his exalted monarch? Surely it is needless to point out, what must be apparent to the least discerning, that imperialism does not furnish the ideal to be striven for in our endeavors to save humanity from the defilements, disorders, and despair of modern life.

Neither can much more be said on behalf of what I presume to call the Commercial State. In some countries, like England and America, while fleets and armies are maintained, and often some king-maker of a politician or successful speculator is enthroned as "boss" or dictator, the supreme concern of the people is business. Their cry is, "Great is Trade, and Adam Smith is its prophet." These and some other nations, such as Belgium, are organized in the interest of gain. The thought of gain predominates in their legislation, in their foreign policies, in the ordering of their forces, and is coming rapidly to loom large and ominously in the administration of their churches and in the missionary extension of their creeds. For this soldiers are trained, for this navies are built, for this helpless tribes are bound, gagged, and plundered; for this revolutions are inaugurated, and for this the highest officers in Church and State are used, and alas, often are abused. Where mammon rules, the weakness of childhood, the helplessness and purity of maidenhood, and the rights and dignity of human nature count for little. Everything must be sacrificed to the greed for gold—home, family, even political honor and religious scruples. So profoundly

was this impressed on the mind of Mr. J. A. Roebuck, that in 1856 he said: "We ought never to trust the justice and humanity of men whose interests are furthered by injustice and cruelty. The slave-owner in America, the manufacturer in England, though they may be individually good men, will nevertheless, as slave-owners and masters, be guilty of atrocities at which humanity shudders." Such atrocities are of constant recurrence, even now on the close of the century. And the readiness to inflict them is implied in the protest of the money-makers against legal enactments for the protection of the money-earners and their children. Millionaires whine in the public prints that governments interfere unduly on behalf of labor, and that such legislation tends to bankruptcy. But they always fail to remember that the State has passed more stringent measures and granted more valuable concessions to capital than ever have been conceded to toil. Neither do they appreciate the fact that—in the estimation of many—tariff laws are almost entirely in their favor, and of no distinct advantage to the people at large. What would they have? Would they have the artisan class at the mercy of the capitalistic oligarchy? Would they have the strong arm of law around their coffers, and would they have it arrayed more than it is against the poor? This is the legitimate inference from the plaintive wail of gentlemen who by some happy stroke of good luck have acquired fortune, if not fame, and who themselves are fighting "tooth and claw" to keep what they have, and to get more, and who are outraged when they contemplate the miserable proletarian who is simply imitating their example. As Professor Shailer Mathews writes:

It is a simple matter of observation that instead of increasing a man's social sympathies, the struggle for fortune too often makes him selfish and unsocial in that it breaks down that sense of dependence which the poor man feels binding him to other men. In the same proportion as the semblance of independence increases is there danger that a man will forget that he is always an integral part of society, and that he can be truly a man only as he is dependent upon God and in sympathy with his fellows.[1]

On the whole, therefore, Commercial Society as we know it leaves much to be desired. It may in some respects be superior to militarism and imperialism, but at its heart it is sordid, base, false, and cruel. This is a widespread conviction. Never, perhaps, was a form of civilized life so generally detested or so uniformly denounced as this. It has been weighed in the balance and has been found wanting. There is no hope for it in the future. It must be suspended, abrogated, annihilated, if the world is ever to become the abode of nations rejoicing in equal privileges, and blessed with a more generous and general distribution of the gifts of providence than is possible under the selfish and clumsy economical system in vogue to-day.

The Ecclesiastical State, which has frequently been advocated, and which has at various periods been partially realized, and which existed in its completest form when the Pope of Rome exercised temporal sovereignty, has succeeded no better than the commercial in giving to the race a perfect and prosperous commonwealth. Indeed, Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, regards the first real attempt in this direction, made in the fourth century, as evincing the malicious skill of Satan, defeating the

[1] "Social Teaching of Jesus," p. 145.

supreme purpose of the kingdom of Christ. He says: "I mean that by inducing kings and nations to conform nominally to Christianity, and thus to get into their hands the direction of Christian society, he has in great measure succeeded in keeping out the peculiar principles of that society from any extended sphere of operations and in insuring the ascendency of his own."

History abundantly confirms this judgment. And yet it cannot honestly be denied that certain immediate advantages at the beginning sprang to society from this conformity. Thus the Edict of Milan was a great blessing to the persecuted church. By it Christianity was placed on the same footing before the law as the old religion. Christians and all others were free to adhere to the faith they had chosen. "It appertained to the tranquillity of the times that all should adopt the religion they liked best" (*in colendo quod quisque deligeret, liberam haberet facultatem*). By this concession the church was enabled to enter upon an open and unhindered course of development. She reared magnificent edifices, she enriched her altars, she acquired influence with the authorities, and imparted something of her own spirit to the laws. M. de Broglie on this subject writes: "The civil law, following in the footsteps of the gospel, became less rigorous, but more severe. It condemned more frequently, but punished more mercifully. We see it, alternately, as one or the other of these dispositions predominated, assuming greater strictness or greater leniency."[1] To which he adds, when referring to this period in general: "At this solemn moment the church accepted from God and the hand of Constantine

[1] "*L'Église et l'Empire Romain*," p. 297.

the task of emancipating the world, without entirely subverting it. It is for modern society to say whether it has succeeded in the attempt." Let Canon Freemantle answer, who, belonging to an established church, may be regarded as speaking with authority. He says:

> In the case before us, that of the relation of the first Christian emperor to the church, we cannot but believe that, had his imperial duties been recognized more fully as a church function, many mistakes and conflicts would have been avoided, and the effect of Christianity upon the empire would have been both sounder and more extensive. Had it been acknowledged that human justice in its highest and Christian sense is the thing chiefly aimed at by the church, the effect would have been to sanctify the government of the empire. . . When the moment came at which the church leaders might have advanced to claim the general life of mankind for Christ, they shrank back. Like the Jews of the first century, they knew not their day of visitation. They cared for the formal guarantees of Christianity, for its correct statement, for the provision made for its worship, above all, for their own order; they willingly used the imperial power for these purposes, and it was for these that it was least fitted.[1]

And as the years rolled on it became increasingly evident that the church was more anxious for her own authority and aggrandizement than for the welfare of the community at large. She influenced Gratian and Theodosius to establish her supremacy and to degrade paganism, and she even induced Honorius to withdraw the meager eleemosynary assistance extended by the emperors to the indigent of the old creed. In a little while she forgot her primitive simplicity and vows of unworldliness, and became a glittering, decorated time-server at the feet of kings, filled with the unhallowed

[1] "The World as the Subject of Redemption."

ambition of ultimately trampling on their necks. An idea of this change is given by M. Capefigue in the following striking passage:

> The bishops, priests, and deacons were no longer dressed in the simple garment of linen or coarse stuff which belonged to the epoch of persecution and martyrdom; they were clothed as the magistrates of Greece and the satraps of Syria or Persia. The bishop bore on his head the mitre adorned with precious stones; in his hand he grasped the pastoral staff in the form of a scepter; his finger was ornamented by an amythyst of large size; the dalmatic and chasuble were of silk. The priests and deacons adopted splendid ornaments, rich girdles, robes, and tunics. To the change, then, in the seat of empire—to Constantinople—may be ascribed the origin of ecclesiastical luxury and Catholic magnificence.[1]

These beginnings were only too prophetic of a long career of vanity, rapaciousness, selfishness, and haughty despotism. While at the first the emancipation of the church from cruel persecution was not only favorable to her, but to society as well, her gradual so-called elevation wrought her spiritual degradation. She began to sanctify superstitions, to condone crimes, to favor fanaticisms, to assert assumptions, and to contend that by her kings reign and princes decree justice, and she ended by making herself, her power, her splendor, the goal of all her schemes, plans, and labors. The people were ignored, progress was arrested, even common morality was discredited by ecclesiastics; and the church, sent into the world to save humanity, became its bane and blight.

The wonderful thirteenth century, with the opening

[1] "*Les Quatre Premier Siècles de l'Église Chrétienne*," Vol. II., p. 186.

years of the fourteenth, furnishes unmistakable evidence regarding the essential character of papal ambition. Then it was that the two powers—the Church and the Empire—which, in the theory of the Middle Ages, were represented as each being chief and sovereign in its own domain, were struggling for supremacy, and Frederick of Hohenstaufen and Innocent IV. waged implacable warfare against the august pretensions of each other. But though neither of the champions was really successful, and though the Holy Roman Empire of Charlemagne and Otho actually went down with the Hohenstaufen dynasty, as the papacy of mediævalism itself was seriously weakened by the death of Boniface VIII., still the ruinous contest continued, the Hapsburgs taking one side in the great debate, and on the other the popes with pious unanimity employing all the resources of the Holy See. The sacerdotalists were set on maintaining and extending their temporal possessions and universal authority. To their way of thinking, over the governing States there should be one, and only one, visible supreme head, though there might be subordinate princes; and he should not be a secular ruler, but a spiritual lord, an infallible and sacred Cæsar. To secure this dignity the popes used the meanest tricks of corrupt partisans, and did not hesitate to involve Italy in the desolations of war. They encouraged France to invade Italy, through whose sword they expected to obtain for themselves and their successors secular domination. So indifferent were they to the weal of their own people—the people nearest to their throne—that public sentiment was at last aroused, and public indignation expressed. Mobs took possession of the streets of Rome.

The popes were compelled to flee or to seek refuge in the fortressed palaces of the nobles; and out of the discord there emerged on the scene the Orsini, the Colonna, the Savelli, and other families, whose rivalries and feuds only added fuel to the flames ignited by the mad ambition of ecclesiastics. Popular demonstrations ultimately led to a recrudescence of the ancient Roman republican spirit, and to the brief triumph of Cola di Rienzi, the "Tribune of Liberty."

But notwithstanding the constant antagonism of citizens to the plan of the papacy to convert their civic heritage into a worldly possession for the glory of the tiara, and even though time after time they have taken arms against its execution, to this day the occupant of the Vatican insists that the so-called patrimony of St. Peter has been wrongfully taken from him, and that he by rights is lord of lords and king of kings, the vicegerent of Christ on earth, sovereign in temporal as well as spiritual affairs.[1]

But it is not necessary to appeal to the Middle Ages for confirmation of this grave indictment. The appallingly wretched condition of the States of the church in Italy during the earlier portions of the present century more than substantiates its most damaging particulars. Under the eye of the supreme pontiff in those dark days misery, ignorance, squalor, and degrading vice held sway, while he from the reputed chair of St. Peter was meditating an encyclical against what he regarded as the delirium and ravings of modern progress. Every attempt to organize ecclesiasticism into a civil government has uniformly entailed curses on society; and if

[1] "History of City of Rome in the Middle Ages," Gregorovius.

there are classes in these gloomy times of ours who are looking for relief to some such measures, they may at once abandon hope of deliverance; for there is neither the promise nor the potency of social regeneration even in the theocracy of Puritanism, could it be revived, and certainly there is nothing of the kind in the autocracy of Romanism.

While I am penning these sentences, a report comes to the world at large that his holiness is now solicitous that the monarchy reigning over Italy should give way to a republic. Not a few unreflecting persons may regard this as a manifestation of a desire on the part of the papacy to be reconciled to popular institutions. It will be said: Has not the Holy See abandoned royalty in France, and has it not come into hearty accord with freedom in America? Yes; with its own freedom. Its freedom to thrust the Bible out of our public schools, to antagonize our American Sabbath, to manipulate our politics, to boycott in trade as far as possible our Protestant citizens, and in these ways, while in speech extolling liberty, to undermine the foundations on which it rests. In the turmoil of modern activity it is forgotten that from the moment Constantine established a new seat of empire on the Bosphorus, ecclesiastics in Rome became in fact the successors of the Cæsars. The emperors of the West from that fateful period dwindled more and more into a vanishing quantity, until the last one being swept away by the victorious barbarian left the throne to an ambitious bishop. There followed, not unnaturally, a scheme of universal dominion. A providential purpose was speedily discovered. The old empire God had overthrown to give place to the new, the tem-

poral Cæsar had been supplanted by the spiritual Cæsar, and henceforward the church was destined to govern the nations of the world. Never has this dream been lost sight of by popes, cardinals, and priests. They are indifferent whether the nominal government of a land is monarchical or republican so long as the real lordship resides in themselves, and so long as they are the virtual dictators of policies, laws, methods of education, and principles of industry. Indeed, at heart they are more favorable to a democratic State than to one of a regal character; because in the former the people who, notwithstanding their professed independence, look up with awe to chieftancy, will render an undivided allegiance to the supreme pontiff. The church has never committed herself to the theory of her apologists that her vocation is exclusively spiritual, but has claimed the right, and yet holds to it tenaciously, to be mistress, sovereign and absolute, over the temporal as well as the eternal. Everywhere, and by every kind of means, she is seeking to make good this claim; and in proportion as she succeeds society will be reshaped into an ecclesiastical State.

If this is the climax of perfection, and if the world will reach its ideal under the rule of priests, let us no longer resist; but if not, then let us not deceive ourselves by assuming that Rome has abandoned her scheme of universal empire, and will ever be content with anything short of absolute submission to her authority—a submission involving the most disastrous consequences to the well-being of mankind.

It must be apparent from what I have thus far advanced that the governing ideal of that commonwealth which is

to realize the highest possible good for the greatest number and reduce to the minimum the wrongs and woes which afflict the world, cannot be found in militarism, imperialism, commercialism, or ecclesiasticism; not in any one of these, nor in all combined. As long as any one of these pernicious taproots remains the vital spring of human affairs, there never can be a complete and lasting transformation from our present semi-barbarous civilization to a nobler, purer, sweeter form of social life. What then? Where are we to seek for what is needed? Where hope to find an adequate and permanent foundation on which may be reared a new and more glorious superstructure? My answer is, we must look to the New Testament; and there we will discover a formative force of incalculable energy, which Thomas Jefferson was pleased to term "fraternism"; and it is this fraternism which, in the fullness of time, will constitute the spirit and organizing principle of the coming Social State, and differentiate it from every other kind of State which has guided the fortunes and destinies of mankind.

The Social State means that order of society where, to use the words of Campanella, "the man is managed for the good of the commonwealth and not of private individuals"; where the advancement, the peace, the prosperity, and happiness of all is the aim and business of each citizen; where legislation is ever in the interest of the entire population and not of a mere fraction; where the end of every enactment, enterprise, and endeavor is human weal, and not corporate selfishness, whether mercantile or ecclesiastic; and where manhood is esteemed more highly than merchandise, and the condition of the nation is judged, not by market reports and dividends,

but by the continued growth of the people in education, comfort, and in moral and spiritual greatness. "Enlightened self-interest," as it is called, and other hedonist fancies, have hardly a place in this conception for, as must be evident, it contemplates the subordination of egotistic individualism to the development of a sane and saving altruism. Concerning the details of its administration it is too early to dogmatize; for these will be largely determined by the total experience of the ages in government, and by a type of sagacity which has not yet attained to maturity and which will largely be the product of the schooling of love. But we may rest assured that the direction of affairs in the Social State will be entirely free from the machine methods, the corrupt measures, the sordid ambitions, the paltriness, heartlessness, the selfishness, and the despicable meanness by which modern politics are usually stained, and by which public policies are frequently disgraced.

Adam Smith laid down the rule, applicable to the existing order of society, in his "Wealth of Nations," that "these exertions of the natural liberty of a few individuals which may endanger the liberty of the whole society are and ought to be restrained by the laws of all governments." The Social State, however organized, will carry out this principle of action as it never has been carried out heretofore, because being grounded in fraternism it will guarantee equal rights, opportunities, and privileges to all of its citizens, and the citizens themselves, being influenced by this spirit, will reduce to the minimum the necessity for such action, and when necessary will render its operation easy and effectual.

To Christianity, as I have intimated, or, in other words, primarily to the teachings of Jesus, we are indebted for the underlying thought which logically leads to what I have set forth as the core of the new sociology. While we do not claim that he came to lecture specifically on such themes, and while we cannot go so far as Professor Herron in saying that the Sermon on the Mount is "in no sense a discourse on individual piety, but a political document, given on a political occasion, as truly as the Great Charter or the Declaration of Independence," nevertheless, we hold that, as we reproduce in our inventions and industrial mechanism the forces originally implanted in the universe for its maintenance and regulation, so will we find material in the great principles which our Lord enunciated, and which he revealed as fundamental to the sweep and sway of God's sovereign reign in all worlds throughout the entire realm of the spiritual, wherewith to mold and fashion our little earthly governments. As Augustine, in the "*De Civitate Dei*," while refraining from elaborating a theory of the State, writes: "Let them give us such warriors as the Christian doctrines require they should be; such subjects; . . . such kings and judges, such payers and receivers of tribute as they ought to be according to the Christian doctrine; . . . and they would confess that, if followed, it would prove the salvation of the State"; so we believe, that while Jesus gave no minute directions for the establishment and administration of a temporal commonwealth, even as he laid down no particular rules for worship or business in his churches, yet, as the Atlantic is said to be charged through and through with liquefied gold, his doctrine

contains in solution all that is necessary in the way of inspiration, aim, and even method, for the formation of a body politic and social, such as never yet has conserved the well-being of mankind. When he proclaimed in the face of civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies, and in an age when no figure was more conspicuous, forlorn, and ominous than that of the Roman slave, the night of whose misery was ultimately to eclipse the glory of the empire, that all men are brethren, he pronounced the doom of the old systems and laid the corner-stone of the new. Divine corollaries from brotherhood, which may in time become statutes in our legal and judicial authorities, we have in the striking injunctions: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, . . that you may be the children of your Father in heaven." "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" "For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." While these precepts were evidently given first of all for the guidance of the individual, I can see no good reason why they should not be carried into the direction of public affairs.

That the Saviour perceived nothing extravagant or impracticable in this supposition is witnessed by the establishment of his kingdom among men, where these divine laws are binding, not alone on the units, but on the aggregate of its citizens. Indeed, to me, the kingdom of God on earth, while primarily an extension of his reign for spiritual ends, is a type and prophecy of what the Social State is to be, and the initial movement

toward its realization in time and space. There are writers, however, who so completely identify the one with the other that the kingdom is only a nucleus or germ of the inevitable Social State—the Social State in embryo waiting for the birth-hour and the aftergrowth.

I do not care to take up or enter into the merits of this view, simply because I fear it would involve me in questions of a theological character which would be of no special service to my principal contention. When Prof. Shailer Mathews says, "By the kingdom of God Jesus meant *an ideal* (though progressively approximated) *social order, in which the relation of man to God is that of sons, and* (therefore) *to each other that of brothers*,"[1] he is probably correct as far as he goes; but I am not quite convinced that on the spiritual side the definition is sufficiently comprehensive. Perhaps my skepticism may be understood and appreciated by referring to quotations which the professor has himself introduced, and which are worthy of consideration. From quite a number I select several as being entirely sufficient for my purpose.

Bruce thus summarizes possible interpretations:

> It [the kingdom] signifies some form of divine dominion. Abstractly reviewed, it might denote the reign of the Almighty over all creation through the operation of natural law; or of the moral Governor of the world rendering to every man and nation according to their works; or of the God of Israel ruling over a chosen people, and bestowing on them power, peace, and felicity as the reward of obedience to his divine will. Or it might mean something higher than any of these things, the highest form of dominion conceivable, the advent of which is emphatically fit to be

[1] "Social Teaching of Jesus," p. 54.

the burden of a gospel, viz., the reign of divine love exercised by God in his grace over human hearts believing in his love, and constrained thereby to yield him grateful affection and devoted service.[1]

He further quotes with approval the words of Keim: "Briefly stated, the religious heaven of Jesus meant the Fatherliness of God for men, the sonship of men for God, and the infinite spiritual good of the kingdom of heaven is Fatherhood and sonship."[2]

Candlish gives what "may be taken as a basis at least for an exposition of an idea: The gathering together of men under God's eternal law of righteous love, by the vital power of his redeeming love in Jesus Christ, brought to bear upon them through the Holy Spirit."[3]

Beyschlag declares that

> The kingdom of God is wherever the will of God is done on earth as in heaven; that is, where it is observed in an ideal manner. Accordingly . . . the kingdom is that ideal condition to which mankind and the world's history shall arrive when God, according to his inmost being as eternal spirit and sacred love, shall be the all-filling and the all-conditioning element in the world.[4]

According to these representations the whole idea of the Social State is involved in the idea of the kingdom of God; but the latter seems to suggest a wider horizon, even the rule of the Almighty stretching through vastness illimitable, and to include religious mysteries, such as the function of redemption and the ministry of the Holy Spirit. As I understand it, the kingdom re-

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[1] "Kingdom of God," p. 46. [2] "*Jesu von Nazara*," p. 54.
[3] "Kingdom of God," p. 197.
[4] "*Neutestamentliche Theologie*," Vol. I., p. 41.

veals, in what the author of "*Ecce Homo*" calls "The Divine Society," what will ultimately be realized in the Social State; but when that time arrives the spiritual empire will always be grander than the earthly commonwealth, will encompass it with its gracious environments and atmosphere it with its heavenly influences. I have somewhere read of Mr. Whymper having announced that he had traced in a piece of mica-schist an exact miniature of the peak of the Matterhorn, whence he had chipped it with his hammer. He says that the same causes which sculptured the huge homogeneous mass shaped also each of its parts in the likeness of the whole. And similarly the Social State derives its essential character from the kingdom, is fostered by it, grows out of it, is even a part of it; and it surely cannot be hard to believe that the Son of Man designed by this relationship to demonstrate the possibility of the ideal being actualized, and of the dream becoming the blessed commonplace of the awakened future.

Notwithstanding this apparent assurance, it is perfectly natural for minds in bondage to the selfishness of commercialism and unfamiliar with the trend of the more enlightened sociological school, to treat this whole conception as mere philanthropic sentimentality, utterly devoid of science, and as having in it, therefore, nothing to commend it to men of practical sagacity. This impression cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. I insist that it is unwarranted. Why should it be thought unscientific to substitute a rational and humane principle of organization for one that has so little to recommend it that the longer it is retained the more fatal to happiness does its working appear? Judged by what we see

and hear, by the inequalities, the corruptions, and the unendurable agonies of modern life, and by the total failure of relief measures, however brave and generous, it is clear that the present social basis must itself be totally unscientific. If the building we are rearing on greed and self-interest is continually tumbling about our ears, and smothering in its *débris* and dust untold numbers of inoffensive fellow-beings, have we not reason to suspect the soundness of the foundation? Is it not evident from this ceaseless horror that the architect is a novice or worse, and that his blundering, which he loftily calls "science," should be peremptorily arrested? The time for a change unquestionably has arrived, and many of the foremost writers on political economy testify directly or indirectly that it must be and will be along the lines that mark the distinctive character of the Social State.

It ought to be said that economic thought usually deals, not only with things as they are, but with things as they should be. Consult Schönberg, Mill, Giddings, and Kidd, and it will be realized that they are not satisfied with the present, but look into the future. Physical science describes nature as it is; but economical science portrays society, not exclusively as it is, but as it ought to be and presumably as it will be. And students in this important field of inquiry are very commonly advocating in one way or another the substance of the doctrine I have enunciated in this chapter. I do not claim that they have formulated it in the same terms, or that they have definitely anticipated a Social State fashioned by its teachings. But I do maintain that by the prominence they are assigning to ethics in their systems, by

the new emphasis they are laying on brotherhood, and by their optimistic vaticinations, they are giving their support to my contention that such a State is to be the outcome of the long travail of the ages.

Rudolph von Ihring's declaration that ethics is the "queen" of the social sciences, if it has any significance, means that right, justice, love, are to be dominant in the coming time. The statement of Roscher that "the starting-point as well as the object-point of our science is man," corresponds with the initial principle of the theory I advocate. And as much may be said of Laveleye's formal definition of political economy, involving, as it does, ethical elements which necessarily provide for the welfare of all as against the excessive and monopolistic indulgence of the few. He writes: "Political economy, therefore, may be defined as the science which determines what laws men ought to adopt in order that they may, with the least possible exertion, procure the greatest abundance of things useful for the satisfaction of their wants, may distribute them *justly*, and consume them rationally." In the same direction also runs the sentence from the recent work of Professor Nash,[1] descriptive of the State: "The State, then, *i. e.*, the total human life organized under the conditions of time and space, can only become and remain democratic by setting a high valuation on the average man and registering its valuation in terms of the universal life, however that universal life be named."

This is just what contemporaneous society does not do, except in panegyrics on the dignity of human nature, which are uttered with one breath, while with

[1] "The Social Conscience."

the next shuddering women or children are condemned to the sweat-shops or the stews.

Then there are others, thoughtful individuals, not sociologists, who have similar discernment of what is necessary to the solution of the problems which now perplex and alarm. Herbert M. Ramp, in the "Arena," from the laborer's point of view, pleads for "a more thorough feeling of brotherhood between man and man in all stations of life," [1] as the real clue out of existing misunderstandings and difficulties. And even no less a genius than Henrik Ibsen contributes in his own way to the inevitable revolution. He is feeling his way toward the realization of a commonwealth where the lot of those who suffer most under existing conditions will be improved, and where base, artificial, and mercenary distinctions will cease, and expresses himself in these terms:

> Mere democracy cannot solve the social question. An element of aristocracy must be introduced into our life. Of course I do not mean the aristocracy of birth, or of the purse, or even the aristocracy of intellect. I mean the aristocracy of character, of will, of mind. That only can free us. From two groups will this aristocracy I hope for come to our people: from our women and from our workmen. The revolution in the social condition now preparing in Europe is chiefly concerned with the future of the workers and the women. In this I place all my hopes and expectations, for this I will work all my life and with all my strength.

It therefore seems almost incontrovertible from such expressions as these, that the clearest heads, as well as the most sympathetic hearts, are confidently anticipating the triumphs of fraternism. They apparently have no

[1] "Arena," November, 1897.

suspicion that its substitution for the savage selfishness which now tyrannizes over social life is unscientific in theory, or would prove inoperative in practice. And consequently, I appeal from the hasty and flippant judgment that dismisses every theory and every programme which challenges the statesmanship of organized and legalized sordidness as empty and futile sentimentality.

But, in addition, such appeal is more than sustained by what is historically revealed of the action of Christianity on the actual evolution of the Social State. The process has been going on through all the centuries since our Lord's crucifixion, and the inquirer, if he will, can observe for himself its distinct phases. Not only, as already proven, has our faith disclosed the ideal toward which the ages have been working, but it has co-operated directly and effectively with other forces that have made for its realization. If cavilers would only patiently scrutinize the services it has rendered to this cause, they would not be so ready as they have been to impugn the scientific value of what is proposed as the controlling aim in the new social order, and they would, I am persuaded, be constrained to concede that its complete attainment is in every way feasible and more than probable. To strengthen this impression I therefore proceed to show, as I promised I would, how far and in what manner Christianity has furthered the evolution of the Social State.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION

CHRISTIANITY has helped to make clear the true social basis. In this special work it really took the initiative. And it is interesting to observe that it did not begin with a sentiment, but with a fact. Its primary declaration was not that all men should be brothers, but that they are brothers. While it sought to cultivate the fraternal spirit, it paid immediate attention to the fraternal elevation. It proceeded scientifically to discover what is certain, and then to deduce from it what is obligatory. When in the parables our Lord contended that the tares and wheat should grow together until the harvest, lest the violent uprooting of the one should destroy the other, and that it would be perilous prematurely to separate the good from the bad in the drag-net of the fishermen, he was making known the vital connection that subsists between human beings, so that they are mutually influencing one another and are inseparably involved in each others' welfare and destiny.

The conception thus introduced into the thinking of the race, though for a long while only partially appreciated, with the advance of intelligence has come to be recognized as fundamental to sociology. It has been cast into doctrinal form, and among the French has received the name, "solidarity." With the French, however, there is a tendency to restrict what they denote

by the term to a specific form of government, socialism or communism. But we, in employing it, do so in no such narrow sense, but rather as expressive of an interdependence which is not created by legislative enactment, and which is true, whether recognized by the authorities or not. Real and true solidarity is not an affair of statecraft, not an artificial arrangement to equalize the citizens of a commonwealth ; but is rather that mysterious, natural principle which weaves one human personality in with another, and which blends, combines, and almost consolidates them. The fact is, inexplicable links unite the separate and separable members of our race, and its aggregate is more than a formal mechanical organization of multitudinous parts. There is such a necessary, vital, inner, and spiritual coalescence between its members, such an indivisibility of interests and indissolvableness of relations, that its wholeness is as one huge body, having a common consciousness and a common soul. The Apostle Paul employs this figure when referring to a special and particular fellowship:[1] "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ"; and "whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it, or one member be honored all the members rejoice with it"—a representation as applicable to society as it is to that segment of which the church is composed. To vary the illustration: individuality may be compared to the distinct waves that rise and fall, while social unity may be likened to the undivided ocean of which the billows form a part; it may be com-

[1] 1 Cor. 12 : 12, 26.

pared to the stars that shed radiance on the earth, while social wholeness may be likened to the light whence they derive their common lustre. The first is as the leaves and branches of a tree, the second is as the tree itself; the first is as the wheat and tares, the second is as the roots inextricably intertwined and interlaced.

Of the reality of the doctrine thus defined, and of its pre-eminent importance, there can hardly be any question. Let us not forget that we of the present are creations of the past. What we are, whether for weal or woe, is largely due to the generations gone. Our roots are in former times, and the direction of our growth is determined by influences that blow from the realms of the dead. If the doctrine of the conservation of force is true, that no physical energy is wasted and no material element is destructible, but only convertible and transformable, then it must follow that no thought, idea, or endeavor is perishable. And if the intellectual and spiritual forces of the world are as durable as the physical, being only susceptible to modifications and transmutations, then we who live in this age have been shaped and directed by the inexhaustible energies of ages ended. We are thus identified with humanity from the very beginning of its existence.

Not all our art or skill can dissever the connection. Try as we may to rend the tie, we shall still find it to be impossible. In vain shall we strive to extricate ourselves from the past. In our thinking, feeling, planning, working, it will in spite of us obtrude itself, and at times will perplex us to decide whether we really belong to this era or to one lying in the morning twilight of his-

tory. But not only are we subject to influences whose origin is hidden in remote antiquity, we also inherit from our ancestors taints and tendencies, mental and bodily peculiarities and characteristics. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Yes, the moral as well as physical current flows from sire to son. In neither realm can the law be evaded. In that mysterious chamber where life is elaborated, the likeness of the parent, with more or less accuracy, is transmitted to the child, as the face of a man is imprinted on the photographer's plate, hidden in the darkness of the camera. Each birth is as the restoration of some old portrait; a process that revives faded colors, and that once more fixes the outlines of features that had well-nigh become indistinct. Whatever theoretical objections we may entertain to this law, it is as unquestionable as the law of gravitation.

The hypothesis of the evolutionist derives its greatest degree of probability from this certainty. Heredity underlies the reasoning both of Darwin and Spencer, and without it their conclusions would lack even the shadow of a foundation. We need hardly remind any that the Bible confirms this view, and in the clearest terms insists on the transmissibility not merely of physical, but of moral qualities as well. Corruption, scrofulousness, and general viciousness may be in the blood; but they may as truly be in the spirit. Predisposition to righteousness, devoutness of soul, or mental aptness for particular pursuits, may at an early period discover itself in the child, and not infrequently be traced to its progenitors. And what, as George Eliot has so well argued, can be more reasonable? For

Shall the trick of nostril and of lips
Descend through generations, and the soul
That moves within our frame like God in worlds—
Convulsing, urging, melting, withering—
Imprint no record, leave no documents
Of her great history?

There can be but one answer to the question. If the doctrine of descent is true at all, the spiritual must be as transmissible as the physical; and if we in the present are the receptacles of the past, and if the future cannot but receive the present, then is one generation indeed bound up in all the others, and the solidarity of humanity is a very real and a very solemn fact.

Additional considerations must, we think, increase the force of this conclusion. Take the race at any one period of its existence, say our own, and observe how close the relations are that unite its myriad members, and how the well-being of one is interwoven with the prosperity of all. Dr. South wisely said: "If indeed a man could be wicked and a villain to himself alone, the mischief would be so much the more tolerable." But that is impossible. As the apostle wrote, "No man liveth to himself," so no man sinneth to himself alone. His waywardness involves the innocent, compromises and afflicts those who have faithfully reproved him for his course. The drunkard impoverishes his family, the gambler disgraces it, and the criminal brings upon it that ban which oftentimes is so undeserved, and which is yet enforced so mercilessly. Like a stone falling in the mire, that besplashes the unfortunate bystander, the descent of the good into evil bespatters his relatives and friends. Their garments are befouled with his befoul-

ment; and the shame which he has merited, they frequently feel more keenly than he does or can. The only relief to this dark fact is that on the other side the operation of this law is equally apparent. "If one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it"; if "one sinner does much harm," one righteous man does much good. He who wins for himself an honorable name cannot, if he would, retain its lustre to himself. It will irradiate those who are allied to him, and if it does not do so irresistibly his friends will take good care to place themselves in the way of its brightness. If you want to know how numerous your relatives are, acquire fame or wealth, or obtain the nomination to high political office, and you will speedily be amazed at the extent of your family.

"What! will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?" I can readily conceive a successful aspirant for presidential dignity exclaiming, as his eye wanders despairingly over the multitude who claim some degree of fellowship with his blood. But, even apart from such self-evident selfishness, the nobility achieved by one is shared by many. Father and mother feel the triumph of their son as though it were their own, and carry themselves with a prouder air because it has been won; and many a child of renowned parentage rests with serene satisfaction on the laurels wherewith his house is crowned, nor makes the least endeavor to increase its glory. Even entire communities have a sense of elevation when one of their number performs some notable feat or makes some remarkable discovery. We rejoice to belong to the race whose history is distinguished by the names of such men as Hampden, Shakespeare, Wash-

ington, Franklin, Morse, Bryant, and Stephenson. The realization of their greatness somehow ministers to our own. They seem to be a part of ourselves, as though we lived in their life, and as though in some inexplicable way our being merged itself in theirs.

Have you ever explored the significance of our interdependence in labor? Many workers are indispensable to every important result, whether it be social, religious, political, or mechanical. There is no invention that can be ascribed solely to one mind, no revolution and no reform that can be credited to one individual, just as there is no community whose welfare is separable from diversity. We are in the habit of recognizing some conspicuous person as the author of important movements, but there is never one who deserved to be lifted up so high that on fixing on him eyes of admiration his co-workers should be overlooked. But for them he never would have succeeded, as but for him all their toil would or might have been in vain. Mrs. Browning writes:

> 'Twill employ
> Seven men, they say, to make a perfect pin:
> Who makes the head, content to miss the point,
> Who makes the point, content to leave the joint,
> And if a man should cry, "I want a pin,
> And I must make it straightway, head and point,"
> His wisdom is not worth the pin he wants.
> Seven men to a pin, and not a man too much.

And how many for a newspaper, a railroad, a steamboat, a factory, an invention, a discovery, a reform, or a revolution? How many to direct, sustain, and shape that complicated machinery called civilization? One industry is dependent on another, and "the eye" of the

inventor "cannot say to the hand" of the mechanic "I have no need of thee"; "nor again the head" of the thinker "to the feet" of the toiler, "I have no need of thee; nay, much more, those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary." The writer cannot say to the printer, I have no need of thee; nor the manufacturer to the producer, I have no need of thee; nor the architect to the builder, I have no need of thee; nor the jeweler to the miner, I have no need of thee; nor the miner to the smelter, I have no need of thee; nor the merchant to the trader, I have no need of thee; nor the citizen to the statesman, I have no need of thee; nor the navigator to the astronomer, I have no need of thee. Nor, indeed, can any calling, however high, say to any, however low, I have no need of thee; for they are all so mortised, dovetailed, sutured into each other, so ingrafted and intertwisted, that the suspension of the one would jeopardize the rest. And if to this interdependence we add the reality of sympathy, whose waves like the currents of atmosphere seas which course about our globe, reviving and refreshing, flow from heart to heart, and even from land to land, making all sorrows common and all sufferings personal, while they bear on their bosom strength and comfort, the doctrine of solidarity will be so fully confirmed that henceforward it will become a vital part of our every-day working creed.

To us it is singular that any person should permit ideas of independence, or the institutions of freedom, or anything else, to obscure the inexorable reality of this principle in social relations. Yet, as we have already intimated, nothing in our times is more common.

Many people who acknowledge its abstract truth are inexcusably blind to its actual operations in the concrete, and seem to proceed on the supposition that it is not practically applicable to the welfare and advancement of humanity. At least they justify the suspicion that they believe themselves exempt from personal allegiance to the law of solidarity, and may tamper with it and disregard it, without injury to community or detriment to themselves. There is no delusion more fatal, and none that ought to be more unsparingly rebuked. Consider for a moment how utterly impossible it is for any of us to evade all responsibility for the condition of society, and how absolutely futile the hope that we can live in its fellowship and yet exercise no influence on its destiny. It is not something outside of ourselves, something from which we can be separated, our dreaming to the contrary notwithstanding. We may retire to our chamber and read accounts of royal pageants, of kingly splendors, of Bradley-Martin balls, of expensive opera festivals, and moralizing, exclaim, "Oh! the pomps and vanities of society!" as though we had no earthly concern in these brilliant movements; or we may meditate on political struggles, fraudulent elections, rioting in the streets, battlings in the East or West, outrages committed on the innocent and wrongs and cruelties perpetrated on the defenseless, and indignantly murmur against the awful things that go on in society, as though we were unharmed by them and necessarily unblamable for them; or we may reflect on the sufferings of millions, their poverty, anguish, and despair, and with tears in our eyes and sorrow in our heart, declaim against the heartlessness of society, as

though we could not under any circumstances be as heartless as the rest.

But this frontier line, after all, is purely imaginary; there is no such abyss between ourselves and society as we suppose. There is not a change in its affairs, nor an evil tolerated, nor a vice defended, nor a right resisted, nor a good assailed, in which we are not interested, and for which we are not more or less accountable. When the degraded and reckless classes are neglected, and their unclean habits and depraved conduct breed malaria and death, are we not exposed to peril? and if we fall a victim to their irregularities, may we not simply be paying the penalty of our selfish disregard of their welfare? Their excesses and corruptions may murder as surely as Cain who slew his brother Abel; but in this instance, Abel himself may be largely responsible for the crime. A low moral sense, combined with ignorance and passion, may seek to avenge its real or fancied wrongs by applying dynamite, not only to public buildings, but to the inequalities which divide, hoping in this way to explode social order and blow up the very throne of Providence. We may feel no concern in these violent proceedings, may smile complacently on their partial successes, and yet they may ultimately shatter and consume both our property and our life. Thus, then, whether we like it or not, and whether we are conscious of it or not, the law of solidarity asserts itself in the practical affairs of the world, and stubbornly insists that neither human happiness nor prosperity can be realized apart from its recognition, appliance, and general utilization.

The evolution of social life rivals in importance the

recognition of the true social basis, and Christianity has not failed to render signal service in this direction. Nietzsche and his disciples assist us in grasping the meaning of what is comprehended in social life by their advocacy of an extravagant individualism, and by their disjointed talk of man's "return to nature," and of "his living his own life." In opposition to all this anarchical philosophy, religion teaches that "no man liveth to himself," nor can live; that humanity fulfills itself and completes itself in fellowships, relationships, and reciprocal activities. Moreover, it rejects as abhorrent to sound reason the position of Renan that it is simply the vocation of the many to nourish and develop the few, and that forty millions of our race may be esteemed as so much dung "to supply fertility for the production of one great man."[1]

Such sentiments Christianity from the beginning of her mission has denounced. They have no foundation in science or in nature or revelation. Jesus proclaimed the brotherhood of man, and inculcated a genuine equality in the exercise of which each should co-operate with the other in developing the highest possibilities of the whole. The power of co-operation, this sense of interdependence, this ability to work together, to think, plan, and act in companies, combined with the consciousness that in no other way can the individual be perfected, constitutes the essence and spirit of the social life. The social life differs from the social basis in this, that while the latter reveals a necessary and indestructible unity, the former accepts this principle of unity as the governing law in human conduct and inter-

[1] "Social Aspects," Ely.

course. This capacity for interchange of thought and emotion, of mutual agreement and combined activity, this supplementing one's self with others, this subordinating of selfishness in the interests of a common cause, and this merging of our personality into the composite being of a family, guild, or nation, could never have been acquired apart from training and varied discipline.

The social instinct of itself would not have achieved these ends. At the beginning mankind was rather gregarious than social. It was endowed with an aptitude for something better and nobler than its primitive herding, in which there was almost as little true companionship in feeling or aim as there is between the animals that make up a drove of cattle. At the first it was not unlike the sands of the desert, where the particles touch, and where they are swept as clouds, unsolidified and unrelated, and from which no statue of the Olympian Jove could be hewn, and no Acropolis be built. But to change all this, to make hard and yet yielding rock out of this loose material, to create a substance fit to receive the stroke of the chisel and to be shaped into forms of utility and beauty, involves the action of fire and the operation of manifold fusing and molding forces. The social life is likewise the product of similar fierce schooling, and the commencement of its formation unquestionably antedates the appearance of Christianity. Every stage in the development of civil government presupposes some degree of concert and of vital harmony among those who are its authors and representatives. Ancient nations could not have advanced in the arts or have achieved in arms, if they

had not made some progress in the power of coming together, of blending and interblending, and of social synthesis. In Greece and Rome there were schools of speculation, circles of aristocracy, groups of politicians, guilds of various trades, as well as the fellowships of war and of peace, represented by the soldiers in the field and the citizens in the Forum or the Agora, all implying some measure of education in the philosophy of mutualism, theoretic or practical. But when everything has been conceded that can possibly be claimed for antiquity, it still remains incontrovertible, that the generative principle of the true social life was disclosed in the ministry of Jesus, and that its quickening and growth through the centuries have been largely due to the influence of the religion he published and established.

In the interest of this movement Christ planted his church, whose very title suggests the idea of brotherhood and of fraternal life and activity. It represented a new citizenship, in which the members were drilled in such a way as to make a thoroughly sympathetic whole out of the component parts. While it inculcated submission to authority, and recognized order and degree in its officials, it was so absolutely self-governing as to furnish all of its citizens a constant opportunity for training in independent thought and interdependent endeavor. At the first the church was a mere aggregation of believers, a society resting in a common faith, and held together by the bond of common convictions, common hopes, sufferings, and victories. Then no hierarchy treated the heritage of Christ as its appanage. As Guizot testifies, then "it was the body of the faith-

ful which prevailed both as to the choice of functionaries and as to the adoption of discipline, or even of doctrine. The church government and the Christian people were not as yet distinct." In these primitive times the right of election to the office of bishop remained *cum clero et populo* (with the clergy and the people together).

By the fifth century all this had been changed, and yet so great an impetus had been given to the new spirit of combination that even the development of the papacy could not effectually retard its progress. It reappears, after strenuous efforts looking to its suppression, in sects and associations; incarnates itself, so to speak, in protesting bodies, and becomes stronger and more real through stress of painful circumstances; and it is thus prepared at a suitable hour to break forth in Lutheran reformations, wars for American independence, and English and French revolutions. But for its survival and growth these radical upheavals would have been impossible, and modern society, as we know it, would have had no existence. And as in the past, so in the present, a free Church, wherever it beautifies a free State, helps to perpetuate the free State by teaching its members, who are also citizens, how to act as parts of a whole, how to receive and how to give, and how to interflow in thought, feeling, sympathy—as tides mix and mingle in making one mighty sea.

It is well known that our Saviour inculcated the principle of self-denial and the duty of self-abnegation for the sake of others. But compliance with this divine rule implies a susceptibility to the necessities of a fellow-being, and a readiness to share his burdens and,

in a word, so fully to enter into his life that in reality it becomes a part of our own. Reciprocity in suffering tends to diminish individuality, or, perhaps it should be said, enlarges it by union with other individualities. The church straightway in entering on her mission began to drill and exercise her children in this ministry of self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice. Charities were inaugurated and multiplied, benefactions were conferred on the indigent and wretched, and forgiveness was extended toward the persecutor and tormentor. Christians, even in their poverty, were rich in alms and gifts, and even in their impotence and obscurity lifted the slave from his despair and rescued the afflicted from his foes.

"Incredible," says the jeering Lucian, "is the haste which they exhibit when anything of the kind occurs. They spare nothing that they have."[1] And Julian, the emperor, sometimes called "Apostate," thus writes to a pagan priest: "Build numerous places of refuge and entertainment for strangers in every city; for it is a disgrace that these impious Galileans, besides their own people, should support ours also, while ours are seen of all men to perish without any assistance from us."[2] With the new spirit of beneficence there developed a view of the responsibilities of wealth which overturned the cherished selfishness of the ancient world. It was proclaimed that ownership did not convey the right of exclusive or luxurious expenditure on self. Property was regarded as a trust, and he to whom it was committed was considered, not as a principal, free to dispose of his possessions according to his own good pleasure, but as

[1] "Fall of Rome," Sheppard. [2] *Ibid.*

a steward, under obligation to administer according to the will of another. Hence, Ashley quotes St. Ambrose as interpreting this startling economic doctrine in some searching questions he propounds, and the answer he supplies:

> What injustice is there in my diligently preserving my own, so long as I do not invade the property of others? Shameless saying. My *own*, sayest thou? What is it? From what sacred place hast thou brought it into the world? . . . That which is taken by thee beyond what would suffice to thee is taken by violence. . . Thou, then, who hast received the gifts of God, thinkest thou thou committest no injustice by keeping to thyself alone what would be the means of life to many? . . . It is the bread of the hungry thou keepest; it is the clothing of the naked thou lockest up; the money thou buriest is the redemption of the wretched.[1]

With the spread of such sentiments naturally a change was effected in the condition of many suffering classes, such as the slaves, the gladiators, the sick, and the helpless. And as Professor von Ihring, of Göttingen, has shown, they touched and softened legislation, and resulted in the formation of various benevolent corporations. They drew men and women together into fellowships, and stimulated social life for the welfare of others. It is not necessary to give illustrations of the movement M. de Broglie describes in his history of the Roman Empire, for they can readily be found in any general history of the period. But it may be worth while to quote in part what he has to say on the relation of Christianity to slavery:

> So began that long struggle, doomed to endure for centuries, between the inveterate slavery of the Old World and the liberating

[1] "English Economic History," pp. 126, 127.

spirit of the gospel. By the two constitutions of Constantine (in favor of the emancipation of slaves), the church was established, in a sort of official patronage, for the emancipation of the human race. . . The sudden abolition of slavery would have starved the ancient world, which only subsisted on the products of its labor. It would have thrown upon the soil whole populations, without guides, without resources, and without the power of governing themselves—multitudes of human beings equally destitute of the instincts of the animal and the intelligence of man. More than a single day was required to create and bring to maturity that principle of respect for self and for others, those sentiments of personal independence and dignity, which enable societies to exist by the free activity of its members. At this solemn moment the church accepted from God and the hand of Constantine the task of emancipating the world, without entirely subverting it. It is for modern society to say whether it has succeeded in the attempt.[1]

M. de Broglie in this passage incidentally alludes to the need that existed for the creation of respect for self and for others if societies were to be maintained by the free activity of their members. When individuals sacrifice for their fellows they must attach to them a worth equal to the estimate in which they hold themselves, and they must recognize in them a capacity for fellowship similar to that with which they are themselves endowed. Thus, then, self-surrender and self-abnegation are evidences of a high regard for humanity, and they contribute directly to the varied forms of social life. In proportion as such ideas acquired influence in the Roman Empire, clearer conceptions of the rights and dignity of mankind began to prevail among the heathen themselves. Marcus Aurelius rises to the height of advanced statesmanship when he extols an empire of free speech, equal laws, and common

[1] "*L'Église et l'Empire Romain*," Vol. I., p. 297.

institutions. And the great jurists rank with him—Salvius, Papinian, and Ulpian—when they proclaim the equality of all men before the law.

The distinctions which had separated the Roman from the Goth or Persian gradually gave way. As Christians mingled with them and treated them alike, it became more and more difficult for them to treat each other as aliens. They came to see that they were made of one blood, and that they should share in rights and privileges wherever the civil State existed. And as a result of this growing conviction Caracalla conferred the dignity of Roman citizenship upon the civilized world. The day when this famous edict was issued has been considered one of the epoch-making days of history. Nor can its significance be overestimated. It was in a sense the Coronation Day of Humanity. It recognized the essential greatness of man's nature. Moreover, it drew into intimate relations the members of the race, and in clearing the way for associated action stimulated the growth of social life.

I think also it could be demonstrated that the disruption of the empire, and the calling into being of smaller States, each State requiring the combined support of its citizens, and becoming a school for the training of classes and orders in mutualism, tended to deepen and intensify the consciousness of incompleteness and insufficiency apart from the co-ordination and co-operation of mankind. The monasteries also vividly and practically inculcated the same doctrine. Whenever a holy brotherhood was visited, whenever a weary stranger had the opportunity of studying what may be defined as a sacred communism, he must have turned away from

the well-tilled fields, from the well-filled libraries, and from the well-built and stately towers, with a growing impression that in some such way, in some form of fraternal association, must progress, peace, and prosperity seek for their spring and strength. And as the outcome of these varied experiments and teachings we discover throughout the modern world no end of societies. Organizations for almost every conceivable purpose exist in city, town, and country. Corporations, trade unions, associated charities, and friendly orders without number, carry on the affairs of the most advanced communities. It is almost impossible to do anything alone. As a rule we must have partners, companions, or helpers. Probably we have too many of these agencies. But their existence, even in excess, indicates the great progress that has been made in social life. They make plain that the race has been educated up to the point where its members are capable of associated endeavor. This is a decided gain. It implies enlightenment, capacity for self-government, and a knowledge of the art, at least in some degree, of eking out personal deficiencies by the excellencies of others, and of making up the defects of our neighbor with the overflow of our own attainments. And in this way the people generally are still being trained for the Social State. They are learning every day how to mix and intermix, how to move as companies and armies, and that too without losing their sense of individuality. They are learning also how to generate and preserve a genuine *esprit de corps;* and when this schooling shall have advanced a little further the coming commonwealth will have ceased to be an expectation and a dream.

In a government where imperialism, or militarism, or commercialism does not reign supreme, something more is indispensable to its existence than the developments I have already attributed to the creative genius of Christianity. There must be a seat of authority. And if this is not to center in the counting-house or the throne-room or in the fiat of an ecclesiastical council, it can reside nowhere else than in the moral sense of the nation. Indeed, the Social State is utterly inconceivable apart from the social conscience; and from the beginning of our Lord's ministry to the present time, the law he revealed and the institutions he founded have worked together for its genesis and growth.

Herbert Spencer, in his famous definition, fails to recognize these forces, and writes as though he had never even heard of them. He says: "The intuitions of a moral faculty are the slowly organized results of experience received by the race. I believe," he adds, "that the experiences of utility, organized and consolidated through all past generations of the human race, have been producing corresponding nervous modifications, which by continued transmission and accumulation have become in us certain faculties of moral intuition." According to this exposition, conscience is merely a permanent nervous susceptibility. It is not spiritual. There is in it nothing essentially different from any other physical organ excepting its function. It is related to a particular class of actions which for some reason, perhaps merely to differentiate them, are termed ethical. Pleasurable or painful excitation attends the presence of these actions, and from their effect on this nerve center they are characterized as good or bad. If this theory

is accepted as scientifically true, then it follows, to be better than our ancestors is simply to become more nervous. Such a view is entirely foreign to the mind of Jesus Christ. In his dealings with mankind he proceeds on the assumption that there is something in the race that responds to the law of right, which in certain circumstances excuses or accuses, justifies or condemns, and which is not a part of the outward man which perishes, but of the inward man which may be renewed day by day. Define this possession as we please, it is back of all our moral cognitions and determines our moral activities. It would carry us too far from our present task to attempt an analysis of the phenomenon of conscience. All for which we are solicitous is that its existence be not denied, and that its reality be not destroyed by identifying it with some special form of physical development. We maintain that it is a native endowment, and that while it needs training and unfolding, like the intellect itself, there are no good reasons for challenging its function and authority.

We are familiar with the saying that "corporations have no soul." It is equally true that mankind in the aggregate at the beginning had no conscience. The individuals who made up the aggregate had. In them it may have been rudimentary, but it was there. Each man in the multitude had a conscience, however defective it may have been in judgment and working. But the crowd, the conglomerate of human beings, had not. Neither could it have a conscience until its members became related to each other in society and became in reality a social entity. When they reached that condition then, as they shared in a common spirit in com-

mon views, they would likewise increasingly participate in common moral convictions and a common moral life. This, however, does not mean, where this development occurs, that there will be no variations from the prevailing standard of right and duty, nor that there will be no fluctuations in popular sentiment when issues arise which involve rectitude of conduct. It only signifies that every community, after it has really become a community, is sure to reveal a predominating ethical unity. It may be characterized as mean, base, vicious, or as pure, noble, virtuous; but in either case it is the prevailing moral complexion of the entire body politic. When certain transactions inspire public indignation, when particular amusements, as "slugging," cock-fighting, and the exhibition of women in gauzy attire at fashionable entertainments, provoke general and unmitigated condemnation, and when special deeds of villainy arouse the great mass of citizens to angry protest, the social conscience is asserting itself and is making itself felt. At such times it is difficult to escape the conviction that humanity is under the control of a single ethical spirit which pervades it as a whole, and impels it to arrive substantially at the same judgments. This is the rational solution of the phenomenon, and at once suggests the inquiry, how far this spirit has advanced from darkness to light, and from narrow to broader and truer conceptions of law and duty.

I regret that the answer cannot be framed in satisfactory terms. Society has not reached a gratifying state of purity, neither does it exhibit so profound a love of justice as to relieve us of shame and contempt for our generation. The Ten Commandments are far

from triumphant in our civilization; and as for the legislation of Christ, it is generally treated more as a lovely aberration than as a serious rule of earthly conduct. And yet I believe that some degree of progress has been achieved. If this age is compared with almost any and every preceding one, it will be evident that moral gains have been steadily made. It is not true, though the contrary is loudly proclaimed by our social pessimists, that the conquests of the race have only extended to the physical and not to the spiritual; to improvements in the outer world and not to improvements in man himself.

To represent him as being still as barbarous and cruel as his savage sires, and only differing from them in his new environments, is surely a horrible travesty on the upward course which the weary but brave feet of humanity have been treading for centuries. And yet one of the most philosophical writers of our day has discoursed in the "British Quarterly Review" on this subject in these very terms. Says this melancholy moralist:

> Like the savage, the Englishman, Frenchman, or American makes war; like the savage he hunts; like the savage he dances; like the savage he indulges in endless deliberation; like the savage he sets an extravagant value on rhetoric; like the savage he is a man of party, with a newspaper for a totem, instead of a mark on his forehead or arm; and like a savage he is apt to make of his totem his god. He submits to having these tastes and pursuits denounced in books, speeches, or sermons; but he probably derives acuter pleasure from them than from anything else he does.

It is to be admitted that these representations are not without some color of truth; and yet they partake

too much of the querulous temper of Heraclitus to inspire the fullest confidence. Evidently they exaggerate the actual infirmities and imperfections of civilized humanity in the nineteenth century. We, of course, do not deny that man himself, more than his environments, is the supreme test of the reality of progress; but even thus judged we believe impartial inquirers will concede its genuineness. While some of the savage instincts may occasionally reveal themselves in his character and pursuits, and while fanciful philosophers may be able to institute amusing comparisons, place an average Englishman and an average wild child of the American forest side by side, and the differences which separate will so far outnumber those which unite, that relationship between them will seem impossible; and maintain that the former was in bygone ages substantially like the Indian of the present, and you will have proven decisively that progress is no dream.

It is unhappily true, that men in the most refined and enlightened countries are weak, frail, grasping, sometimes cruel and frequently unjust; but when compared with men of other times they have every reason for congratulation. The bad rulers of our age are not so notoriously wicked as the Neros and Caligulas of the past; the licentiousness of the moderns is not so abominably indecent as that of the ancients; and all the tricks, frauds, and wrongs committed by our most heartless and avaricious monopolists sink into insignificance and smell of heaven before the murderous and rapacious outrages of such monsters as Oppianicus and other citizens like himself, who rendered infamous the expiring years of the Roman Republic. Moreover, though

the question at issue is more a question of manhood than of achievement, yet achievement itself, revealing as it does a type of manhood, cannot be ignored in coming to a conclusion on this subject. Man expresses himself in his works. He discloses himself in the governments he founds, the charities he organizes, the books he writes, the art he fosters, the religion he cherishes, the obstacles he overcomes, the appliances he invents, the discoveries he makes, and the enterprises he inaugurates; and thus judged, man to-day is morally immeasurably in advance of his ancestors.

But to this it will be said that there are monstrous discrepancies disfiguring society which are hard to reconcile with this view. Of these we are only too painfully conscious to attempt a denial. We agree with what Rev. James Martineau writes regarding certain bitter and appalling contrasts in England, and recognize their existence to some degree in America, and still we adhere to our optimistic faith. He says:

> Our country is a vast congery of exaggerations. Enormous wealth and saddest poverty, sumptuous idleness and unrewarded toil, princely provision for learning and the most degrading ignorance, a large amount of laborious philanthropy, but a larger of unconquered misery and sin, terrify us with their dreadful contrasts of light and shade. It is appalling to think of the moral cost by which England has become materially great. Where is the laborer by whose hand the soil has been tilled? In a cabin with his children, where the domestic decencies cannot be. I know not which is the most heathenish, the guilty negligence of our lofty men, or the fearful degradation of the law.

A pathetic and not an unfaithful picture this. But it should never be forgotten that time has been when

there was hardly anything except poverty in the world; when there was practically no philanthropy at all; when ignorance was the rule even among princes; when toil was performed by slaves and serfs, who had no prospect of ever being anything better; when indecencies were common in palaces as in huts and were openly paraded on the printed page; and when there was not morality worthy the name to give in exchange for material prosperity. Bad as our age is, it is not the worst; selfish and vicious as our generation may be, it is not so utterly conscienceless and heartless as some of the generations which have preceded it; and in advantages, opportunities, and privileges, the blindest must see that it is far ahead of all others.

The deplorable circumstances and unfortunate tendencies which warrant complaint, only indicate that the ethical spirit has not reached perfection; they do not justify the discouraging opinion that it is an illusion and a sham. Our readiness to detect incongruities and apparant contradictions, combined with our promptness to denounce evils old or new, is itself a sign of elevation and prophetic of a further onward movement. Discernment of wrong and woe implies at least that sufficient light has come to bring them into relief. It means that men have climbed high morally when they can see clearly the shadows and darkness that settle on the vales beneath. The sun has risen, though its path is thick with storm-breeding clouds; the chariot rolls forward, though its wheels are splashed with mud and slime; the army advances to victory, though it leaves many dead and wounded on the field. It is vain for Froude to argue, as he does in his "Short Studies," that

the modern world is distinguished more by change than progress; for the changes he notes, such as the alteration in the pursuits and manners of the gentry and clergy, the modification of the old apprentice system with its barbarities, the enlightenment and enfranchisement of the people, with all the fresh discoveries of science and their application in unnumbered inventions to the needs of the race, are themselves signs of moral development. He is undoubtedly correct when he writes: "The upward climb has ever been a steep and thorny one, involving, first of all, the forgetfulness of self, the worship of which, in the creed of the economist, is the mainspring of advance." But he is wrong when he insinuates that there has been no "climb" whatever, and he is equally wrong when he overlooks the fact that this very "forgetfulness of self" is the prime condition of elevated and virtuous manhood.

To what extent the social conscience has been evolved, history alone can conclusively determine. Its verdict may readily be ascertained by instituting some comparisons between the past and the present. Take, for example, the reign of Nero. Follow the account given of that ferocious period by Tacitus, whose descriptions are even more real and terrifying than those embodied in the now famous novel, "*Quo Vadis.*" Where in our time is there a community whose moral sense would tolerate for a moment the brutalities, indecencies, and devilish cruelties of the amphitheatre, which thrilled with an exquisite delight the patricians and plebeians of Rome, and which fascinated vestal virgins and pagan priests, as well as Ahenobarbus and Tigellinus themselves? Not even Thibet, which has furnished a recent

instance of monstrous inhumanity, could parallel these atrocities. The horrors of the French Revolution dwindle into insignificance by their side. And especially is this seen when it is remembered that the crimes of the Revolution, like many excesses of the present century, grew out of a fierce political struggle, were abnormal, and were perpetrated in the frenzied reaction from oppression, not deliberately planned and prepared at great expense, as were the butcheries of the amphitheatres and the licentiousness of imperial festivities, for the amusement of the people, and that too not occasionally, but repeatedly, and almost continually through hundreds of years. A gentleman, several months ago, in one of the leading magazines, I think in the "Forum," revived that tragic episode of the "Odyssey," where Ulysses, on his return to his wife Penelope, murders the suitors who had besieged her during his absence, also destroying some dozen of her faithless female attendants. Telemachus, his son, takes the nurse, Euryclea, to behold the bloody spectacle, and she gives way to unbounded joy. The writer then adds:

> Three thousand years ago, among one of the most highly civilized peoples then existing, it was felt that if a woman stumbled unexpectedly on the bleeding and mangled bodies of a company of men whom she hated, the most natural thing for her to do was to feel great joy and give loud expression to it. If a virtuous woman had in her charge a company of disobedient and unchaste girls, she was merely evincing her high standard of morals and sense of duty in leading them out in a body to be slaughtered like sheep.

This, he says, is what we are to learn from the passage. He makes this statement, and rehearses the classic story for the purpose of showing how changed is hu-

manity from this type, and that he may more effectively point out the extreme to which modern philanthropy has been carried. It is in his opinion diseased, morbid, mischievous. Well, let his criticism be allowed, and let us admit that mawkish sentimentality has somewhat emasculated modern morality, nevertheless it is proof of a transcendent change that in no civilized community could these scenes of ancient Greek domestic life be repeated now. We are so far removed from their spirit that we can hardly understand how they could have been enacted at all. Everything about them seems strained, unnatural, artificial, and has so little in common with the world as we know it, that we can only contemplate the tragedy described as a kind of impossible horror. We hardly feel any sort of kinship with its perpetrators, and we cannot comprehend a condition of mind and feeling which could carry out or rejoice in its hideous execution. Even if we have become too tender-hearted, too compassionate, and if we do shed tears occasionally over guilty creatures undeserving of sympathy, nevertheless, there is no denying that our mood is less dangerous to society than the savage joy of Euryclea, and gives evidence of clearer moral perceptions and of truer moral sentiments.

Similarly Thomas Carlyle bears witness in his own picturesque style to the marvelous transformation that has been wrought by the centuries on at least one section of our common humanity. He writes:

> Of a truth, whosoever had, with the bodily eye, seen Hengist and Horsa mooring on the mud-beach of Thanet on that spring morning of the year 449; and then, with the spiritual eye, looked forward to New York, Calcutta, Sidney Cove, across the ages and

the oceans ; and thought what Wellingtons, Washingtons, Shakespeares, Miltons, Watts, Arkwrights, William Pitts, and Davy Crocketts had to issue from that business, and do their several task-words so—he would have said those leather boots of Hengst's had a kind of cargo in them ! A genealogic Mythus superior to any in the old Greek, to almost any in the old Hebrew itself ; and not a Mythus either, but every fiber of it fact. An Epic Poem was there, and all manner of poems ; except that the poet has not yet made his appearance.[1]

And Frances Power Cobbe, in an article contributed to the "Forum," named "Secular Changes in Human Nature," has by a few sharp contrasts made perfectly clear that these changes have been for the better, not for the worse, and that they have ever been upward, and not downward. Take, for example, these illustrations of her theme :

Let us think of a modern Achilles—say Garibaldi or Gordon—dragging the corpse of a rival commander after his carriage ; or of a modern Homer describing such scenes *con amore*. Let us imagine the repetition of a Roman triumph after the Franco-German war, and the German Emperor Wilhelm entering Berlin, with the Empress Eugénie in chains, like another Zenobia, forming part of the procession. Let us picture the heroes of Inkermann, or of the Army of the Potomac, after a victory, flaying or impaling their conquered foes ; and Woolner and Boehm engaged to decorate Windsor or the White House with bas-reliefs perpetuating the awful spectacle, in imitation of the halls of Sennacherib !

To which we may add a crowning confirmation of her optimistic argument :

The enthusiasm of humanity is a truly modern passion. Very little trace of it appeared in the western world (Buddha had in-

[1] "Chartism," p. 354.

spired it widely in the East) before the Christian era. Xenophon tells with wonder of Socrates, how "his benevolence even extended to all mankind"; and beautiful altruistic sentiments are to be found in the Greek poets; but not till the age of the Gospels, of Plutarch, and Marcus Aurelius, does the feeling that we call philanthropy seem to have emerged into conscious activity. Through all the intervening centuries it has slowly grown, till in our time we no longer wonder at a Howard, a Fry, or a Joseph Tuckerman, a Florence Nightingale, an Octavia Hill, a Louisa Schuyler, a Miss Dix, a Miss Carpenter, a Charles Loring Brace, a Lord Shaftesbury. They, and hundreds of men and women with less power but equal self-devotion, are quite normal products of our Christian civilization—early fruits of a whole harvest of benediction yet to ripen on the human tree.

When the brilliant career of Charles Stewart Parnell ended in a catastrophe, much was said in England about the "Nonconformist Conscience." His conduct was denounced generally throughout the kingdom, but especially by the dissenters. The stand they took, backed as it was by the Right Honorable William Ewart Gladstone, called forth many articles in which it was made clear that actions of public men were now judged by a more rigid standard of rectitude than at any previous period. It was claimed that a monarch like Charles I. would stand a better chance of keeping his head on his shoulders in the Victorian era than another George IV. would have of keeping his head within his crown. A writer in the "Nineteenth Century" (February, 1891), who elaborated this subject very carefully, and who was inclined to belittle the "Nonconformist Conscience," not realizing that what he thus named was in reality the social conscience, in the following paragraph gives an idea of the ethical advance in recent years:

A modern politician must be careful of his environment; like humbler mortals, he is necessarily a slave to it. If the tone of society under George III. in which politicians moved was loose, they ran no risk beyond their purses and their health. But to-day the fierce light of the "Nonconformist Conscience" has begun to play upon politicians, their pleasures, and the company they keep. "The ladies," said Horace Walpole, "game too deep for me"; and it has been said of that period that the eagerness of women in society to win at cards from their friends and acquaintances destroyed all pleasant and rational intercourse in London drawing rooms. But in those days no one knew or cared whether the loser was the Lord Chancellor or Mr. Fox. When the Postmaster General, Sir Edward Fawkener, had gambled away a large sum at White's Clubhouse, and some one observed, "See how he is robbing the mail!" every one laughed. But would the merriment ring quite so true if the anecdote were told of a Cabinet Minister to-day? A game of faro could not then destroy a coalition. But a game of baccarat might to-day ruin a a party. George Selwyn, when some one told him that a waiter at a club had been arrested for some crime, remarked, "What a horrid idea he will give of us to those fellows in Newgate!" He probably did not really care, and it certainly did not matter, what opinion was formed of him and of the set in which he lived by those "fellows in Newgate," or even by the other fellows who hung about the doors of the House of Commons to pick up scraps of oratory delivered in the intervals of the business of dining and of play. But to-day the private habits of politicians are sharpened into weapons turned against themselves; and a "horrid idea" given of these to those "fellows" in the gallery or in the lobbies at Westminster might lead to the wrecking of a Cabinet, possibly of a Constitution.

Society has evidently been passing through a moral transformation for such violent contingencies to wait on the wrong-doing of distinguished leaders. The world is not as it was. According to Green, the historian, James I. was a coarse buffoon, a drunkard, and a con-

temptible coward; Charles I. was a compound of baseness and avarice; and Queen Elizabeth was a voluptuous, indelicate coquette, and a liar without a peer in Christendom. It is well known that during the reign of George III. the two hardest drinkers were Lord Chancellor Worthington and Dr. Stone, Archbishop of Dublin. The Duke of Grafton in those times was an undisguised libertine, and openly paraded his mistresses at the theatre, and yet he was prominent as a statesman. All this has been reformed in this prosaic age of ours. The people are unwilling to be represented by tipplers, gamblers, and adulterers. Their rulers must be reputable and honorable, like King Humbert, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. McKinley, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Roberts. They will no longer tolerate ecclesiastics of unsavory name, and demand in their religious leaders some reasonable degree of correspondence between their own character and the ethics they proclaim. There is, indeed, no fact more patent than that society is attaining with the passing of the century a more enlightened and more exacting conscience. It has steadily grown. The stages of its advance can be marked. While it is still defective, and while it gives repeated signs of its fallibility, we have reason to rejoice that it is neither dead nor stationary. Its failure to give right decisions, especially when the interests of corporations or of great political parties are involved, we deplore. But these mistakes will hereafter be rectified. They depress, but they should not lead to despair. The social conscience as it is leaves much to be desired. But its frailty ought not to discourage. We should simply gather from its present condition that no pains should

be spared to train it aright, and that no agency successful in the past should be withdrawn from its future development.

Prominent among these agencies Christianity must be enrolled. We do not affirm that to her exclusively belongs the honor of what has already been accomplished. It is never wise to claim too much. But if Christianity has not done everything, she has done much. Her genius is ethical, not ceremonial, and it is her mission to promote right living. Consequently, wherever she has gone, and wherever her mission has been faithfully presented, there has always been more or less of self-examination and of personal and public reform. She is herself a kind of conscience incarnated in the church and implanted in the very bosom of society, causing heart-searchings and commotions endless. From her lips ever emanates the law of duty, and the weight of her authority was early on the side of implicit obedience to regnant righteousness. She has shared and is sharing in the production of ethical qualities, which are heralded and hailed by Mr. Kidd in the following sentences:

> A preponderating element in the type of character which the evolutionary forces at work in society are slowly developing would appear to be the sense of reverence. The qualities with which it is tending to be closely allied are great mental energy, resolution, enterprise, powers of prolonged and concentrated application, and a sense of simple-minded and single-minded devotion to conceptions of duty.

"Reverence" and "devotion to duty," these are the direct product of Christianity, and these go far toward the making of a social conscience.

It has likewise exhibited in its own struggles, in its failures and successes, a series of object-lessons for the world's instruction in moral rectitude. While its pulpit has been proclaiming these things with more or less fidelity, it has been illustrating and confirming them in its own history. It has shown to the startled generations that God has not exempted it from the operations of his law. When it has tampered with its high mission, when it has departed from purity, when it has employed the corrupt instruments of earth to advance the cause of heaven, and when it has become a slave to the rich and coldly indifferent to the poor, it has not failed to be chastened by the angry providence of the Almighty. But when it has chosen to imitate its Lord, to select the way of right rather than the path of ease, to go forth for the truth's sake into suffering and shame, rather than remain within some established ecclesiasticism in guilty complicity with error, it has been honored by God in making it an example of scrupulously upright living to the world.

And in both instances he has taught mankind the supreme sacredness of righteousness, of obligation, of duty, before whose majesty all other things, all ambitions, all interests, and all dignities, must bow and render homage. It may also be added that the varied services wrought by our faith on behalf of humanity, and which contributed so fully to the evolution of social life, entered directly into the formation of moral character, both private and public. In suffering for others, in befriending the poor, in emancipating the slave, in defying the tyrant, in consoling the bereaved, and in housing and nursing the sick, distinctly ethical forces

intermingled with the currents and countercurrents of history. And of these forces, what could be born but a new type of manhood and of society, the latter being, as it necessarily is, only a counterpart of the former? This being inevitable, we are then warranted in concluding that, as these forces would generate virtues corresponding to their own nature, such as justice, compassion, and benevolence, they must likewise have been fashioning the social conscience in their own likeness; and if they will continue their gracious work, then that which they have been molding will, in time to be, attain supreme sovereignty over the affairs and the intercourse of men and of nations.

From this review it is manifest that the connection between Christianity and the evolution of the Social State has been close, vital, and unmistakable. To deny this intimacy is either to be willfully blind to the teaching of facts, or to be ungenerously disinclined to render honor where honor is due. So real and decisive has it been that the position of Mr. Kidd on the subject has occasioned widespread surprise and regret. His tribute to religion was so genuine and glowing that his volume on "Social Evolution" was received at first with unbounded satisfaction by Christian people, the echoes of which have not yet quite died away. It was thought that at last a writer on economics had appeared who was ready to do ample justice to the influence exerted by revealed truth and the church on the development of society. But a more careful scrutiny of his brilliant treatise has somewhat dispelled this impression. Critics are now beginning to perceive that Mr. Kidd, while acknowledging with opulent eloquence the sublime sig-

nificance of religion, attributes to it only a negative and not a positive agency in bringing about the results he describes so lucidly. The fact is, he holds to a peculiar theory, a theory which subordinates the well-being, the hopes and joys of the mass of mankind to the progress of the few, and that demands the sanctions and rewards of the supernatural to reconcile the majority to this very unequal and discouraging arrangement. Two or three sentences from his work will make plain the basis of his extraordinary contention. He writes:

> Fundamental organic conditions of life render the progress of the race possible only under conditions which have never had, and which have not now, any sanction from the reason of a great proportion of the individuals who submit to them. The interests of the individual and those of the social organism, in the evolution which is proceeding, are not either identical or capable of being reconciled, as has been necessarily assumed in all those systems of ethics which have sought to establish a rational sanction for individual conduct. The two are fundamentally and inherently irreconcilable, and a large proportion of the existing individuals at any time have, as we saw, no personal interest whatever in this progress of the race, or in the social development we are undergoing.

And again:

> The central feature of human history, the meaning of which neither science nor philosophy has hitherto fully recognized, is apparently the struggle which man, throughout the whole period of his development, has carried on to effect the subordination of his own reason.

And at this point, it is assumed, religion interposes its friendly offices and persuades mankind that, whereas a large proportion of existing individuals have no personal interest in progress, motives for enduring and

making the most of antagonistic conditions should be derived from the unseen universe. These render rational a line of conduct which apart from them is manifestly irrational. Reason naturally revolts from the doctrine that the many only serve to advance the few, but must not hope to have any part in the advancement; and if it accepts this theory for the sake of preserving its self-respect,—and we are all desirous of acting reasonably,—then it must seek the vindication of its apparent unreason in the will and decrees of the Most High. To conform to the mind of the Infinite Intelligence is to exalt our own intelligence, even though in doing so we abandon earthly dignities, pleasures, and possessions. There can be no denying the representation that Christianity teaches the lesson of submission to God's providential designs; but when it is affirmed that its function in bringing about this patient and devout acquiescence exhausts its social significance, I protest. Its mission extends beyond this comparatively narrow limitation. I have already given some idea of its magnificent scope. If it promotes social life, as I have described it, and if it educates social conscience, then it indefinitely transcends the boundaries fixed to it by Mr. Kidd.

But even when my contentions are admitted, we have not reached the end of its wonderful ministry. Christianity is not simply a doctrine, an intellectual formulary for the government of conduct; it is a spiritual force for the generation of spiritual life. It proclaims the possibility and the need for the renewal of human nature in the image of God. The new birth is the necessary preparation for the new citizenship. Social schemes, however worthy, however promising, can never dispense

with the regeneration of man's spirit. "Ye must be born again," was set forth by Jesus Christ as the condition precedent to the vision of the coming kingdom, and to the entrance into its possessions and privileges. Professor Shailer Mathews is therefore warranted in writing:

> A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit. The world can become the kingdom only by a repentance and a moral change on the part of its members that replaces the spirit of revolt against goodness and a loving God with the spirit of sonship. And Jesus saw aright. A perfect society cannot be created from imperfect people. That which stands in the way of the realization of many a man's ideal for society has not been its own logical inconsistency, but its failure to find or to produce the right sort of men upon which to work. The plan of the house called for marble, and the only material at hand was mud. Jesus proposes to furnish good material as well as a noble plan.[1]

And if religion contemplated a work as radical as this, and if continually it is succeeding in changing the creature into the likeness of the Creator, in transforming mud into marble, Mr. Kidd then has measurably failed to do justice to its real place and potency in social evolution.

In looking over the weary centuries, and observing how painfully slow the tide of human progress has risen, it is not surprising that some watchers should grow faint-hearted, and that others, more impetuous and sanguine, should pray and rashly attempt to answer their own prayer, that some cataclysmal phenomenon might bring it rapidly to the full. They forget that the processes of evolution are aggravatingly deliberate. There is something appalling in the millions of years about

[1] "Social Teaching," p. 110.

which scientists can write so easily, but which the mind finds so difficult to grasp, computed as necessary to the shaping of this mundane sphere, and to the orderly processioning of the animate and inanimate on its surface. The figures are too bewildering to convey any clear meaning, and in the last analysis only stand for the indefinite and incomputable. Well, if it has taken a millennium, more or less, to bring a rose-leaf to its perfection of form and beauty, and if it has taken an equal duration to tune the melodious throat of the nightingale, is it to be counted extraordinary that it has required twenty or sixty centuries to convert the savage man into the average man of to-day? Conceding his imperfections, admitting the blunders, inanities, and absurdities of his civilization, nevertheless, is it not wonderful, all things considered, that he should be as intelligent, humane, and refined as he is, and that his organization of social interests should be as admirable a machine as it is, and should perform its task so indifferently well? It is mortifying, of course, that we do not progress more rapidly. But while the pace will be accelerated, I believe, in the future, because of the increased momentum gathered from the past, still we cannot hope to reach the goal we are striving for in a day. If the principle of evolution governs in society, as it does in nature, only through long and painful struggle can we expect to see the end for which we labor happily accomplished.

The Social State can never be inaugurated by mere legal enactment. The declaration that it is or ought to be will not give to it existence or authority. Canon Wilberforce is reported to have said: "There is nothing at which the devil laughs more than an act of Parlia-

ment," and Douglas Jerrold asserted "that men are no more made sober by such acts than women are made chaste." Law has its place and function, and it can co-operate with other agencies in purifying and reforming society, but its *dictum* is not always decisive and will prove inoperative unless some real degree of harmony exists between its demands and the convictions of the community where it reigns. We often overlook the fact that even in nature law is only the formula of an existing order, not its creator. It makes nothing; it only describes the conditions under which the thing made exists. In social life its sphere may be wider, for there it may assume the form of an ideal we are to transform into reality, but nevertheless there attaches to it a fatal impotency. It may serve to check rapaciousness and to protect guilelessness, and thus open the door for greater progress. But even in these cases it is simply the expression of the social conscience and the instrument for the execution of its moral intuitions. Essentially then, it is not creative; it is administrative. Consequently its proclamation of a new order of things, though the order might be true as well as new, unaccompanied by some degree of preparation on the part of the people, would be regarded only as another Utopia, and would produce no advantageous changes. There is no short and summary route to the desired haven. Society formulates itself as it progresses. It does not by a sudden stroke achieve the climax of progress by formula. We therefore deceive ourselves if we imagine that the transference of our theories of social regeneration to the statute books would necessarily and at once secure that regeneration. Very

speedily we would be roused from this delusion. As the black savages of the equator would be unable to make anything out of our political constitution, and were it proclaimed among them would resist as outrages its most beneficent provisions, so the world would be relatively as uncomfortable and dissatisfied were it forced immediately to accept the constitution of the Social State. The race must be educated up to its exalted aims. Whether we will or no, we are shut up to the comparatively slow processes of evolution. With our increased intelligence, with our larger grasp on the means that make for enlightenment, we may facilitate these processes to some extent, but we cannot supersede them.

Were anything more foolish than reliance on law, it would be the expectation of permanent gain from violence and upheaval. Revolutions are the usual panacea for wrongs and outrages which a certain class of people insist on commending. I am not enamored of them. Time was when it was thought that similar movements were of more importance to the development of the physical order than recent science is prepared to concede. While they may have had a part to play in the history of the earth, it is now recognized that the results from cataclysm, convulsion, and transilience are not to be compared in value and extent to those which have proceeded from growth and gentle transition and transmutation. The same I am sure may safely be affirmed of the agencies devoted to human progress. We owe less to revolutions than is generally imagined. They have at times wrought, or seemed to have wrought, wonderful changes, as in France, when the old order

was violently overthrown and a new state of things was inaugurated. This political and social disintegration was indeed a sublime movement, and with all the evils attending it was the source of manifold blessings. But where it succeeded, how many similar upheavals resulted only in disastrous failure, and how many more ended in worse than failure, being merely reactionary enterprises of tyrants by which the people were rendered more helpless and wretched than ever. At best it can only be claimed that some revolutions have made for progress; many of them, alas! have made for retrogression. But when we have granted this much, it is still not clear whether the stormful uprising of the masses, with battlings at barricades, processionings of mobs waving ensanguined pikes, wholesale decapitations, and tragical trials of kings and nobles, can properly be regarded as a cause of advancement, or rarely as a stage and phase of its history. Back of all such violent agitations there are ideas, hopes, plans, theories, philosophies, and these in the judgment of the best thinkers deserve to be credited with whatever of gain seems to proceed from strife and bloodshed. These may be compared to the brain, and revolutions to the hand; and as we attribute the effects wrought out by the hand to the brain, so we are evidently justified in ascribing progress primarily to the ideas which find expression in revolution, and only in a secondary sense to revolution itself. Revolutions unquestionably are dangerous and uncertain experiments, and writers who become their eulogists should never forget that the praise which they pronounce so lavishly may mislead the ignorant, and may result in commotions as unwise as they

are unnecessary. To extol them unduly would be to imitate that Paul Sarpi, of Venice, who exclaimed "*Esto perpetua!*" when commencing an infamous constitution; for it is to imply that they are abiding remedies for social wrongs and evils, and therefore may be relied on in almost every emergency. Such impressions are always to be deplored. They are pregnant with mischief, encouraging blatant and reckless agitators to incendiary words and deeds which threaten our common peace and prosperity. For these reasons, therefore, we challenge their right to rank with the moral and material forces which make for the evolution of the Social State, and now most earnestly we entreat all who may peruse these pages to use their utmost endeavor to convince the populace in these times of restlessness and discontent, that what is yet to be attained can only be secured, as Milton wrote of glory:

> Without ambition, war, or violence—
> By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
> By patience, temperance.

One of the most tantalizing features of this long and perplexing story of social evolution lies in the reactions it frequently makes prominent. Patience is taxed by the ordinary deliberateness of its progress, but how much more is it tried when stagnation occurs, and even retreat. If we are to toil hopefully, and if we are cheerfully to accept the conditions imposed on the upward march of society, making the most of them and not losing heart, we should try to understand the significance of the fluctuations by which it is retarded. Pauses occur along the line of its march, periods of

arrest, and even of retrogression. But these breaks and chasms, these relapses and deteriorations, while bewildering and discouraging, are not to be regarded as altogether unnatural or useless. They are to be deplored; but they seem to be unavoidable and not entirely without promise of help and blessing. Mr. Sumner states on good authority that the muddy Arve, a river in Switzerland, when swollen by floods, drives the clearer Rhone, with whose waters it mingles, back into the lake of Geneva. At such a time the confluent streams retreat with so much violence from their natural channel that mill wheels revolve reversely, and floating drift is borne toward the source whence it came.

But this singular countermotion, regression, or regurgitation is not without its advantages. The Rhone, defiled by the Arve, is recleansed by its bath in the lake, and is reinforced by the rush of downward-flowing currents, so that on returning to its course it sweeps forward with greater velocity than ever, and with increased translucence. As a consequence, these qualities are imparted to all the waters with which it blends in its journey to the sea; and thus its temporary refluent action becomes a permanent and widespread benefit when it is profluent again. In a similar manner we likewise find that the pauses, alternations, and intermissions, which diversify the course of social advancement, in the long run operate in its favor. This the Scriptures strikingly illustrate. The Jews did not follow a straight path from Egypt to Canaan. They were compelled to pursue a zigzag course, to retrace their steps, and by a circuitous route attain the end of their journeyings. After they possessed their own lands they

did not attain to the blessings of Solomon's kingdom without discouraging recessions, losses, and deteriorations. The nation went forward; but in doing so at times it went backward, revealing the fact that progress is accomplished very much as we scale the Alps—we have to go up and down many smaller hills, all leading to a higher level and at last to the summit; and thus have we to climb in pursuit of social perfection. The law of progress in this respect is not unlike that of the century-plant. We find that flower blooming once every hundred years. A process of retrogression then sets in, the stream of life runs low, and then recovering itself slowly ascends until it bursts forth in new though transient beauty.

We have corresponding periods in history. The times of Pericles in Greece, for instance, when civilization seemed at its fairest, and yet it declined, not to revive until the Augustan era of Rome. Roman greatness succumbed to the iron blows of the Goths, and progress seemed at an end. But it was not so. The tide flowed again, and has risen just as the waters creep upward along the shore, by advances and retreats, by push and recoil, by incoming and outgoing. Hence we have the brilliant age of Elizabeth followed by darkness, darkness dispelled by the Puritans, restored anew by the Stuarts, dispersed once more by the Whigs, and fluctuating since the days of William of Orange until the present. Other countries reveal a similar series of reactionary movements, all leading to increasing and more permanent light. We do not doubt but that we have all that is of real value in the civilizations of Egypt, Greece, or Rome preserved to us; that only the

transient and the useless have perished; that they have perished to prevent the world being unduly encumbered and burdened, and to teach that this process is a sifting and refining one. By this means an immense amount of rubbish is gotten rid of. Moreover, just as the lion draws back to gather strength for its onward spring, and just as the winds appear to be gathered by unseen hands into the cavern of the clouds before they leap forth to ravage and destroy, so Providence seems to permit seasons of retrogressions in which shall be so keenly realized the world's needs that the energies of society shall be collected and concentrated for a new endeavor to rend evil and beat down wrong. Signs are not wanting of deterioration among us, even in this land as well as in others—deterioration threatening for the moment to arrest elevation. Strangest fluctuations mark and disturb the continuity of modern improvement; and as the shadows on the dial of Ahaz went backward ten degrees, so now at times the hands of the horologe of this brilliant era appear as though they might possibly turn once more toward night and savageness. With governments professedly humane, with enlarged benevolence,—perhaps too large for the interests of justice,—and with multiplied publications and diversified religions, possibly too many of both for the real welfare of community, there are yet reactionary movements observable on every side. Wars startle us in one direction, financial panics in another, and iconoclastic politics and infidelities in yet another.

On the authority of Morel, Mitchell, Engel, and Galton we are led to fear that "social agencies are unsuspectedly working toward the degeneration of humanity,"

and as Galton expresses it: "Our race is overweighted and likely to be drudged into degeneracy by demands that exceed its powers. With the deterioration of the condition of the masses, their organizations and functions, there will be plenty of idiots, but very few great men."

We all know, though we may not stop long enough to ponder its significance, what terrible scourges accompany our much-praised civilization. Labor in factories, where mineral, vegetable, and animal dust, with pernicious gases, are inhaled, or where poisons such as copper, lead, arsenic, tobacco, and phosphorus have to be handled, is productive of weakness, decrepitude, sores, and premature death. Dark and stifling mines, damp and chill basements, reeking and filthy tenements, excessive heat from furnaces and excessive cold from ice-chambers, combined with the inconveniences which generally attend the lowly in crowded cities, must undermine the constitution and engender diseases. Such are the effects of pursuits which have largely to do with the pre-eminence of the century. We seem to be living where two streams meet, one of progress, the other of retrogression, and the current and countercurrent lead naturally enough to varying estimates of the age. Some see only the good, and others only the evil. But we should recognize both, and we should try to realize that even the evil, terrible as it is, is not without promise of compensation. There will be a reaction. The swing of the pendulum to one side will bring it back to the other. The gravity of the peril to humanity, if no speedy remedy is found, the depth of the abyss toward which it is gravitating, will arouse slum-

bering energies, which when fully enlisted, will make a clean sweep of deteriorating agencies and conditions, and the rebound will carry social happiness and prosperity forward to a higher point than they have yet attained.

Professor Drummond, in his "Ascent of Man," has led us to believe that some such development is more than probable. He traces the origin of the altruistic principle to the beginnings of the maternal instinct, and shows how this new force has modified what is usually termed "the struggle for existence." This change, according to his theory, constitutes the most important point of departure in the history of evolution. From it dates the rise of every tender and benevolent feeling which has softened the harsh and savage characteristics of the race. And to its influence we are really indebted for every humane emotion and endeavor, and for the wonderful benefactions which have graced the later ages. It will, I apprehend, be cordially admitted that this first birth of rudimentary love does not preclude the possibility of a second or a third. Neither will many persons deny that with the advent of Jesus Christ love had its second and most glorious incarnation, and has been slowly penetrating with its spirit the sordid and selfish strata of society. It has not gone so far beneath the surface as we could wish, and it has encountered many impediments which have resisted its sweet offices; but nevertheless it has wrought transformations more wonderful than those the altruistic principle effected when it suddenly asserted itself among the primeval agonies of the physical universe.

And how about a third? Are we not warranted in

expecting a repetition of the phenomenon? If in no other way, may it not be likely that there will come an hour when, as never in the past, the love of Christ will be understood and produce in mankind a love kindred to itself; when it will flood the soul and extinguish the fires of greed and hate; and when it will be as natural to yield to its dictates as it now seems to be natural to obey the monitions of self-interest? To me there is nothing unreasonable in this supposition. As it runs parallel with what has twice before taken place in different spheres, it cannot be irrational. Therefore, though at present the tide may be out, and though refluent waves may lay bare the slime and brackish water of society, yet the ocean is not dried up, the waters will turn once more and may rise higher than ever in the past. Signs are not lacking even in these days of sore travail, when the hearts of many are failing for fear, that love is about to be born again. What if the wrongs and sufferings, the wails and groans which afflict every sympathetic soul, be but the birth-pangs of this transforming grace! Perhaps they are. Why not? I dare think they are.

Around the social horizon to-day are heavy and massive clouds. They are dull and forbidding. Occasionally they are rent and the electric flame can be seen flashing within. But they are rather the tokens of a storm that has well-nigh played its part than the heralds of one approaching. Sunshine gilds their edges, molten gold quivers among their fleecy borders, rainbows spring out of their blackness, and the sun is preparing to permeate them through and through with light. There is no denying the awful fogs and mists that rest upon the

world, and no escaping the fierce breath of the tempest that carries dismay to helpless millions. But there are indications of the better time. Never before have so many ministers preached about love; never before have so many economists seen that love is the solvent of existing problems; and never before have so many philosophers and poets, with men of science, exalted love as the mistress of all knowledge, the explanation of deepest mysteries, and the inspiration of highest genius. Evolution seems to be on the eve of repeating its earliest marvel. All things are making for a new and final avatar of love. And if in the future it shall be born in the great heart of humanity, so as to possess and govern it supremely, then the Social State will not have long to wait for wise builders and for loyal citizens.

CHAPTER V

THE CONSERVATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL

WERE we not convinced that already the voice of divine progress had disturbed the horrors of the social chaos, saying, "Let there be light," we should have every reason for overwhelming dismay. At least the evening preceding the morning of cosmos has been reached. The period of agitation, of restlessness, of wrenching, of disintegration and disruption, of the dividing of firmaments in the midst of the waters, and of the shaping of stars and of the dry land, has dawned upon the world, and we are encouraged to expect the triumphant hour when not only God himself, but all his children, shall exclaim in the presence of redeemed society: "Behold, it is very good." It remains, however, for the friends of humanity to remit no endeavor, and to relax not one particle of the strain that is on them, if they would see their cherished hopes in due time fully realized. A grave responsibility rests upon them; a serious task awaits their unselfish and unstinted care.

The immediate duty, and the one which in these pages it is my aim to discuss, calls for the scrutiny of plans for social reform put forth by various economical, philosophical, and philanthropic schools. Never were there more theories in circulation designed to correct the inanities and infamies of civilization than at present.

These should be candidly examined. Whatever in them is wise should be accepted; whatever is foolish and pernicious should be rejected. Some of them undoubtedly contain elements of truth, perhaps only half-truths; others we apprehend are illusive and possibly misleading, rather tending to frustrate than to promote the benign interest of their authors. He who would devote himself to the work of social transformation should seek some adequate knowledge of what is being attempted in this field, that he may avoid errors into which others are drifting, and that he may fall into line with movements which others are successfully prosecuting with advantage to the community at large. Measures are being advocated which, while not destitute of good, need to be modified and qualified if they are not to become unmitigated evils. And schemes are being extolled which on the outside are distinguished by sparkle, glitter, and spangle, but which for practical purposes are as futile as the rainbow, or the aurora borealis. To discriminate between rival reforms, to note the fallacy of some and the perils of others, is no easy task, and I enter on its performance with considerable distrust. But, nevertheless, I am impelled to write, anxious only to contribute my mite toward the better understanding of the means and methods on which many excellent people are relying for social transformation.

Among other tendencies which need to be guarded against, is one which, springing from an important and sacred truth, is in danger of discrediting and effacing another sacred truth. Jesus, as we have seen, proclaimed the laws of solidarity and brotherhood. But while he taught that we complete each other, and mag-

nified the blending of individualism in a common life, he did not abrogate or supersede individuality itself. The unit was never designed to be lost in the mass; personality was never intended to be the victim of majorities. Christ never contemplated the possibility of the separate members of the human family being organized out of their manhood and their womanhood, until they should lose all sense of freedom, all ability to think, and almost all consciousness of independent existence. His ideal of society was not that of a factory, with his intelligent creatures reduced to the rank and order of machinery, and like machinery, having no responsibility for their own management. Such suppression of the individual would end in annulling brotherhood. For brotherhood presupposes the power of conscious and voluntary mutual surrender; and were individuality crushed, this power, in the nature of things, could not survive. Consequently individuality must be preserved if genuine brotherhood is to be realized. Obliterate the one and the other becomes unattainable. It is possible to frighten people into combinations, to coerce them into united submission to a governing will, to drill them into mute obedience and to obtain from them the exact service of automatons. Beholding such wonderful regularity and discipline, the enthusiast may dream that at last the blessedness of fraternity has been secured. But let him look closer. He will discover discontent, bitterness, even hatred. That which he admires is insufferable to those who have to submit to the yoke, and instead of brotherhood there is only formal coherence with actual antipathy and discord.

Professor Ely writes on current sociology in this way:

Perhaps still more important is the departure of economists from the individualistic philosophy which characterized the era of the French Revolution, and which has gained such a stronghold in America, because our Republic happened to be founded at a time when this view of individual sovereignty was in the ascendant. The philosophy of individualism came to us from England, which had been influenced by France, as well as directly from France, at a time when our thought was in a formative period, and was especially open to new ideas. But the ethical school, I think it safe to say, places society above the individual, because the whole is more than any of its parts ; also because, as Aristotle says, "the whole includes all the parts, but the part does not include the whole." In time of war, society demands even the sacrifice of life ; in time of peace, it is held right that individual sacrifices should be demanded for the good of others. The end and purpose of economic life are held to be the greatest good of the greatest number, or of society as a whole.[1]

I too find cause for rejoicing in this change of attitude, though I confess it is somewhat diminished by the perverted forms it is made to assume in the business world. That the individual should choose to subordinate himself and his personal interests to the welfare of society, and that he should constantly esteem himself as being of considerably less importance than the community taken as a whole, is certainly in accord with sound doctrine, both religiously and politically. The increasing willingness on the part of many to act in this manner is a sign of cheer and hope. This exalted view of duty does not dwarf the man, nor benumb his sense of selfhood. But if this surrender is not voluntary, if it is forced either by the organization of the State, or by prevailing methods of industry, or by the harsh demands of stern necessity, then it ceases to be a genuine

[1] "Social Aspects," p. 129.

sacrifice, and the cold mechanical association which is thereby secured constitutes a blot on civilization.

To me this kind of deadly and heartless consolidation of human beings is just as repulsive as that wild, selfish egoism for which in many instances it is the practical substitute. We must all admit that exaggerated notions regarding the importance of the individual are fatal to real social advancement. They have led to the formation of parties and to strident cries, protestations, and declarations concerning personal rights—rights of property, rights of conscience, rights of women, rights of trade, and other rights too innumerable for mention here; and they have dulled the sense of obligation, and have brought classes, sexes, and pursuits into venomous hostility. That we should persist in being freed from these excesses there can be no doubt. They are even now too virulent and violent for the good of the world. They corrupt our morals, they pervert our philosophy, and launch us on a sea of metaphysical subtleties which confuse the plainest distinctions between the noble and the ignoble; and they lend their aid to the supremacy of business maxims subversive of that gospel which reveals the first principle of political economy in the Golden Rule—Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.

Even the benevolence of the age is largely tainted by this morbid spirit. The philosophers in several instances have contributed to this drift from the fair ideal of brotherhood and of brotherly sacrifice which it was Christ's purpose to actualize among men. Hobbes maintains that in doing good to others our ultimate aim is really to do good to ourselves, and that, consequently,

what we call love for others is simply love for one's self. Mandeville and Helvetius adopt a similar view; and it has so far permeated current thought that much of our philanthropy is merely a refined species of selfishness, a method of gratifying ourselves by gratifying somebody else. The greatness, the profitableness, the loveliness, the luxury of kindness, generosity, and sympathy, are insisted on too strongly for the sweets of real disinterestedness to be tasted by our generation. In a very large number of cases pecuniary aid can only be obtained for the poor, or for humanitarian movements and public enterprises, by a covert appeal to the vanity or conceit of the donors. They are usually flattered extensively, and sometimes excessively; their desire for personal happiness is skillfully excited; their craving for the approval and applause of their fellow-beings is judiciously nursed and fondled, and they are thus persuaded into doing what they would otherwise leave unattempted. Others have natures peculiarly susceptible. They are easily affected to pain by recitals of sorrows and sufferings, and often extend a helping hand more to allay their own stormful feelings than to minister to calm elsewhere. As in benevolence, so in right-living, self-interest is not merely acknowledged to be the ruling principle, but it is glorified as the supreme law which all are bound to obey. Integrity, temperance, and faithfulness to obligations are commended as contributing to the welfare and peace of those who regard them, and, therefore, as preferable to their opposites. The policy of right-doing, not the rightness of right-doing, is uppermost in the majority of minds, and practical ethics are reduced to the low

level of a scheme to check, balance, and adjust the operations of practical selfishness.

Manifestly, Hobbes is not without influence; but, notwithstanding the unhappy prevalence of his theory, it is base and unsound. It is possible, whatever his school of philosophy may say to the contrary, to be moved to right deeds and good deeds by higher and nobler considerations than its teachings allow. As Bishop Butler has shown in his own vigorous way: "If sympathy with another is to be construed into self-love because it is I who feel it, then by the same rule my admiration and praise of another must be resolved into self-praise and self-admiration, and I am the whole time delighted with myself, to wit, with my own thoughts and feelings, while I pretend to be delighted with another." Assuredly deep feeling in behalf of suffering may arise without any thought of self, just as in the case of true homage to genius; but it may be enough to say in reply to every elaborate defense of this calculating morality, that agreeableness and usefulness are not ethical conceptions at all. What a man does merely because it is agreeable or advantageous, common sense decides is not necessarily virtuous. Such a basis of conduct tends to subvert morality, and hence the rapid spread of insincerity, heartlessness, charlatanry, and corruption, wherever it is accepted and acted on.

It is no small gain to be delivered from thraldom to this belittling and vicious principle of thought and activity. But we only deceive ourselves if we imagine it to be one whit more despicable and wretched than some of the theories which are proposed as an antidote,

and some of the methods which are adopted in business as a corrective. Everything that militates against reasonable Christlike individualism is a disaster. Each man has a right to himself, to his conscience, and to all the possibilities of his nature, and it is infamous to organize government or industry in such a way as to deprive him of himself. Wealth gained at the sacrifice of the citizen is a curse, and the sooner this is realized the better it will be for the State. In destroying him the State destroys itself. For just in proportion as the ability to think is impaired, and the power of initiative is paralyzed, and the sense of responsibility is extinguished, the nation loses the sources of its continued strength and advancement. Its vigor, its *verve*, its enlightenment and expansion, depend on the independent and untrammeled movement of its citizens. If a million of them are free to contribute to the public good the resources of their nature, the gain will be immense; but if the entire population is equally free to develop and make available its native treasures, the gain will be immeasurably greater. Every human being whose faculties are deadened by systems and methods, and who has to consent to the immolation of his higher self for the sake of mere existence, is a fount of possible benefits to the entire community deliberately quenched and obliterated. How far any country can endure this kind of waste we need not attempt to estimate. That it is inexcusable and perilous, few, if any, will deny.

Dr. Draper, in his "Conflict between Religion and Science," ascribes modern progress to the rise of individuality in the sixteenth century. He finds it embodied in a German monk,—Luther,—who asserted its rights

under theological forms; and every student knows that it was invested with the robes of philosophy by another German—Leibnitz. Great indeed was this revolution. It is well known that the old governments were essentially paternal in character, just as Russia is to-day. They regarded all citizens as members of the body politic, and the king or emperor as the head, the duty of the one being to submit, the right of the other being to rule and judge. The chief legislated for his subjects, determined their religious faith for them, prescribed their conduct, fixed their wages, and even went so far as to regulate their food and apparel. When Bossuet, under Louis XIV., taught that "Kings are gods, and share in a manner the Divine independence," and when Hobbes sanctioned the notion of unlimited sovereignty, it is evident no bounds could be set to governmental powers and demands; and that, as in Peru, the Inca was "the source from which everything flowed," and as in Dahomey all men are slaves to the monarch, so the personality of the citizen must have been ignored and practically nullified by the organized tyranny of the absolute authority which these celebrated authors approved. Where it reigned, freedom of thought, freedom of combination and of enterprise became impossible. Stagnation prevailed. Society assumed the character of a marsh exhaling deadly poison, and only the incoming waves of a united individualism rescued it from the unredeemable perdition of absolute pollution.

History fully demonstrates that whenever the State by its legislation, or by its peculiar institutions, has diminished the consciousness of selfhood and of personal responsibility, it has fatally crippled its own

powers. Wherever this blunder has been committed social immobility has ensued, and wherever it has been avoided or rectified, this fatal torpor has been happily ended. Of course, it is not to be denied that in times of grossest tyranny and oppression individuals have appeared who by explorations, discoveries, and inventions, have imparted an impulse to human thought and activity. As on the birth of the universe light emerged from the bosom of darkness, so from the night of the Middle Ages there broke forth lustrous rays which have contributed to the splendor of modern civilization. But these gifted leaders and innovators were notably endowed with a proud sense of intellectual independence. They were enfranchised in themselves, and unshackled their convictions in the presence of iron-handed potentates and iron-hearted prelates. And if some of them, like the aged Galileo, were constrained by scientific jealousy and bigotry and by ecclesiastical narrowness and cruelty to recant, they did not hesitate to recant their recantation, and to whisper, if they did not shout, the truth of the doctrine for which they suffered.

The example of these men then does not in the least militate against our position. It rather confirms the view advanced, that progress is facilitated by the assertion of individuality; for if these isolated but adventurous spirits were inspired to undertake great things by their self-emancipation, and if otherwise they never would have attempted what they either thought or wrought, it stands to reason that a community of even inferior members similarly enlarged, and especially if untrammeled by governmental restrictions and dictations, can hardly fail to do much toward its own improvement

and elevation. Hence it is that history chronicles the achievement of nobler deeds, and of more radical and more humanizing changes under republican sway than under monarchical institutions, unless, as in England, they are of an exceedingly liberal character. The world is more indebted to Athens, with its constitution originally framed by Solon and rendered more popular by Clisthenes, and with its Pericles, Socrates, Phidias, and Demosthenes, whose philosophy, poetry, art, and eloquence have served as models for all succeeding peoples and ages, than to the France of Louis XIV., where paternal power reigned supreme and displayed its refinement of taste and elegance of culture; and the names of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Leonidas, with the battlegrounds of Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Salamis, are entitled to greater honor than the Turennes, Condes, and Vaubans, or the bloody fields of Zusmarshausen, Lens, Blenheim, and Malplaquet, where they defended the policy of their sovereign.

Mr. Buckle in a sentence or two characterizes and condemns the period that M. Voltaire has extolled, and which has been called the "Augustine age." He says that even its literary splendor was the work of the great generation that had just passed away; that discoveries and even practical ingenuity were absent; and finally that the age was an age of decay, of misery, intolerance, and oppression, an age of bondage and ignominy. In contrast with Athens, how despicable the France of the *Grand Monarque* appears; and in contrast with the England and Holland of the same period, countries then busy with scientific investigations and with the dissemination of truth, how poor and paltry does it seem! As

Shakespeare says, "To be a Roman once was greater than to be a king," but that was when the tribuneship, quæstorship, and consulate, and other important offices, were open to the plebeians, when they could intermarry with the patricians, and attain to the priestly dignities of pontificate and augurate.

The elevation of the people, after long and fierce struggles, recognized by the Ogulnian law, B. C. 300, and promoted by the Hortensian laws, B. C. 286, was the forerunner of many victories over foreign foes, and with the close of the Punic wars opened to the Roman Republic its palmiest days. These days, alas! were soon to fall into "the sere and yellow leaf." The civil conflict between Marius and Sylla diminished the privileges of the citizens; the rise of the empire left them only the merest fragments of political power; and when that power became an empty name the empire itself went tottering to its doom. "O Liberty, once sacred, now trampled upon!" exclaimed Cicero, as the shadows, prophetic of evil, gathered around the nation; and he might have added, "the ruthless feet that tread down personal liberty will also crush the hopes and happiness of society."

One sign of decay under the empire, observed by Lecky and made prominent by Spencer, appeared in the donations of corn, oil, and even of money to the people and soldiery. These gifts, conferred by those who were in office or by ambitious men who courted popular favor, diminished the feeling of self-reliance on the part of the recipients, and prepared them to become the willing slaves of rapacious masters, or the tools and allies of aspiring demagogues. Thus step by

step the masses lost the sense of personal dignity, and with their degradation and practical bondage national progress was not only arrested, but came to an abrupt and disastrous end.

In our own times there are multiplied proofs that the connection between the reality and consciousness of individuality and of social advancement, which we think history affirms, is both close and abiding. Commerce has prospered and developed under free institutions; and where it has not been subject to unnecessary governmental interferences it has expanded and grown. Religion, in proportion as it has been separated from the State, has gained in strength, purity, and usefulness. Where the secular powers leave it alone, there it displays the greatest spirituality, benevolence, and enterprise. Science also has achieved its most notable triumphs where the rights of thought and inquiry are most fully recognized and most jealously guarded. And the press likewise has attained its highest degree of intellectual vigor, and fulfills its mission in the worthiest manner, though not without deserved blame, where official censorship is reduced to the minimum, and where the impertinent surveillance of hirelings is abolished. Mr. Herbert Spencer has taught us to doubt the efficacy of excessive legislation. Any one carefully reading his "Study of Sociology" must come to the conclusion, that is, unless he is determined not to be convinced by facts and arguments, that those nations are making the longest and most rapid strides toward civilization where there is least interference on the part of the authorities with the independent action of the citizen.

An interesting and fruitful inquiry was started by M. Edmund Desmoulins, on the close of the Victorian jubilee (1897), in his book "What is the Secret of the Superiority of the Anglo-Saxon?" This question is deserving of serious thought. M. Desmoulins says:

> We [the French] despise that man [the Saxon] because he does not arrive, like the Germans, with great battalions, or with a perfectly equipped army; we despise him because he comes alone and with a plow. But we forget what is the value of a plow, and what is the value of that man.

Well, what is his value? The answer from the volume has thus been clearly summarized for us by "The Review of Reviews":

> His conclusions amount to this: that the Englishman is trained up to be independent, and to be equal to any occasion that may present itself in life. The Frenchman, on the contrary, is destined from his cradle to be an official of some description under the government. The French boy is taught in barrack schools, which is excellent training for an official, but which altogether unfits him for independent life. He is crammed for examination. He makes one supreme effort, and then, when he has obtained his post, drifts for the rest of his life. Parents, he complains, are cruelly kind to their children, and allow them no independence. All that a Frenchman looks forward to is a government position and a rich wife. He does not strike out for himself—he belongs to the past. The English boy, on the other hand, is prepared from his youth up to face the battle of life. He is left to his own resources, and has to fend for himself. A Frenchman depends on his family, an Englishman on himself. In private life a French parent is burdened by the necessity of providing a *dot* for his children. When they are born he does not see a human being, but a *dot*, which rises up before him like a spectre. He slaves for his children, and only succeeds in unfitting them for the struggle of life.

Such then is the explanation of Anglo-Saxon pre-eminence; and no worthier tribute has ever been paid to the force of individualism than is expressed in the closing warnings addressed by M. Desmoulins to his countrymen:

> On both sides of the Rhine and Alps we endeavor to revive, by all possible means, a patriotism which is dying; while we hold reviews and celebrate warlike anniversaries, an adversary which we do not see, and which we despise because it is not armed to the teeth like ourselves, quietly traverses the seas with its innumerable ships and invades the world insensibly with its innumerable colonies.

If we sympathize with this writer, as I presume the average American must, we shall look with suspicion, not unmixed with apprehension, on the theories of Socialists and Communists, which in the name of fraternity threaten the very existence of individualism. It is undoubtedly true that some regulative enactments are needed to prevent injustice and to restrain privilege from abuse; but it is equally true that the interests of society demand that legislation shall not attempt to do everything for the citizen, reducing him to a nonentity, or to the level of a slave. Yet this is the practical and logical *Ultima Thule* of the systems referred to, and which are clamoring on all sides for recognition and adoption. That we are not miscalculating the real outcome of these schemes a witness as reliable as Pierre Joseph Proudhon sufficiently proves. In his "Memoirs" we read:

> I ought not to conceal the fact that property and communism have been considered always the only possible forms of society. This deplorable error has been the life of property. The disad-

vantages of communism are so obvious that its critics have never needed to employ much eloquence to thoroughly disgust men with it. The irreparability of the injustice which it causes, the violence which it does to attractions and repulsions, the yoke of iron which it fastens on the will, the moral torture to which it subjects the conscience, the debilitating effect which it has upon society, and to sum it all up, the pious and stupid uniformity which it enforces upon the free, active, reasoning, unsubmissive personality of man, have shocked common sense and condemned communism by an irreversible decree.[1]

What is this but slavery? The only apparent difference between it and other forms of slavery is the substitution of one master for another, the State taking the place of the autocrat, the community taking the place of old-time individual proprietors. Mr. Herbert Spencer, with remorseless logic, has elaborated this view in his masterly *brochure*, entitled "The Man *Versus* the State." Having shown that private voluntarily formed societies involve to some extent a surrender of liberty, and have given rise to complaints about "the tyranny of organization," he writes:

Judge then what must happen when, instead of relatively small combinations, to which men may belong or not, as they please, we have a national combination in which each citizen finds himself incorporated, and from which he cannot separate himself without leaving the country. Judge what must under such conditions become the despotism of a graduated and centralized officialism, holding in its hands the resources of the community, and having behind it whatever amount of force it finds requisite to carry out its decrees and maintain what it calls order. Well may Prince Bismarck display leanings toward State Socialism. . . The final result would be a revival of despotism. . . And if there needs proof that the periodic exercise of electoral power would

[1] Mr. B. R. Tucker's translation, p. 259.

fail to prevent this, it suffices to instance the French Government, which, purely popular in origin, and subject at short intervals to popular judgment, nevertheless tramples on the freedom of citizens to an extent which the English delegates to the late Trades Unions Congress say "is a disgrace to, and an anomaly in a republican nation."

The practical working then of such a scheme would, in the long run, fatally curtail the liberty of the citizen and, if we may believe history, would end in social paralysis. In effect it would prove as rigid and as unyielding as feudalism, and would be as jealous of innovations. On this ground we resent its advances. It means retrogression, declension, blight, and mildew—the evening and night of civilization, not its morning.

But in resisting this delusion we must be careful that we do not unthoughtfully and involuntarily contribute to its triumph by unwise and unbalanced legislation. There may be too many laws for the good of the community, as there may be too few, and the quality even may be more pernicious than the quantity. To erect barriers in the way of greed, to fix limitations to acquisition, to check lawless and selfish egoism, to prevent cruel indifference to the welfare of the laboring classes, to protect the weak and helpless against the strong, to compel the proper discharge of reciprocal duties, to repel the inroads of vice, crime, and pauperism, and, in a word, to secure the best interests and happiness of the entire body politic, undoubtedly comes within the province of wholesome government; but at the same time the discharge of these functions has boundaries which cannot be passed without approximating to the underlying and enslaving principle of communism.

These boundaries are determined by the sovereignty of freedom. Legislation that necessarily tends to diminish the just sense of personal independence, that trammels the exercise of legitimate activities, that lessens the reality of individual responsibility, and that hinders the free play of all human faculties or the full development of all human resources, is but another scheme of the communistic type, a subtle and cunning device inducing bondage and arresting progress. Such legislation the friends of social advancement are bound to discourage, and must seek by less questionable methods the fruition and consummation of their hopes.

The public ought not to expect too much from the State. Like all other organizations it has its weaknesses, and is very far from being either immaculate or infallible. It may do better in the future, but its past dealings have not been of a character to inspire confidence. Those who rely on it are those who, as Professor Sumner says, regard it "as an entity having conscience, power, and will sublimated above human limitations, and as constituting a tutelary genius over us all." But history, as well as contemporaneous events, proves that this is an illusion. The State, as a rule, is very human, has no conscience worth speaking of, and commits as many blunders, and in general is as stupid as the mass of unofficial mankind. This is decidedly the American view. In this country our leading political economists adopt the great principle of *laissez faire* advanced by Adam Smith, as being more in harmony with the spirit of our Constitution, which rests on the autonomy and sacredness of the individual and not on the Divine authority and sacredness of government, than any ab-

solutist and despotic theory whatever, however it may be disguised by fine phrases regarding liberty, fraternity, and equality. According to the American doctrine man is greater than any agent he employs, and governments are simply instruments made by the people, for the people, and to serve the people in those things which common consent has delegated to them ; and it holds further that the citizen must take care of himself in business and in property relations, that he must depend on his own energy and skill, and not on material aid voted by legislatures; that no grants of money are to be made as benefactions, except, perhaps, in the case of extensive disasters, and that ordinary calamities which overtake labor, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures must be met and repaired by the parties directly concerned.

Lieber[1] confirms this interpretation. He contrasts Gallican liberty with that of the Anglo-Saxon, and shows that the former is essentially "a popular absolutism," a supreme centralism, an arbitrary parent born of his own children, sometimes so harsh as to warrant the paradox of Proudhon—"no one is less democratic than the people"—while the latter he clearly shows is, in theory at least, the antipodes of everything that enters into the French conception. In France the people feel that the authorities ought to provide for them in emergencies, and consequently they do not hesitate to appeal to them for bread when it is needed, and to depose them summarily when they do not supply it. They make out of their representatives in office a kind of providence, and look to them for such interpositions as shall save them from disaster. With

[1] "Civil Liberty."

us it is different; the genius of our institutions is such that it promotes personal independence, inspires every man under God to be his own special providence, and leads the citizens in general to conclude that the State needs them far more than they need the State.

But while this is undoubtedly the real American doctrine, we are not to suppose that it has never been departed from in practical politics, or that it may not be necessary at times to temper and restrain individualism by a wise and moderate paternalism. In the judgment of many our representatives have on various occasions pursued the fatherly policy, as for instance, in devising and maintaining a protective tariff, and in interfering in Wall Street to avert from stock-gamblers the result of their speculative mania. The propriety of these special interpositions we shall not discuss here, though we must say that they evince too much of the spirit of favoritism to command our hearty approval. There are others, however, such as the common school system, to which this objection does not apply. But apart from the wisdom or unwisdom of these particular cases, they illustrate the fact that only comparative fidelity to the *laissez faire* rule has been feasible in American legislation. Perhaps this is all that should be looked for, and possibly it is all that should be desired. Our own view is, that individualism is fundamental to the idea of liberty, and that paternalism in government should always be subordinated to its conservation, and should be invoked mainly to correct its abuses and obstruct its selfishness. We believe that paternalism should be kept at the minimum, not prohibited altogether. If it can be resorted to occasionally with benefit to all, and with-

out impairing the sense of independence and manhood in any, it may be allowed to pass unchallenged. But, as we have already intimated, it is ever to be regarded with suspicion, and should only be applied as a *dernier ressort.*

It is not, however, from legislation that individualism at present has the most to fear. Nations are in no haste to acknowledge the policy of the Fabians,[1] even though it has been presented by them in a seductive form. The foe to be dreaded does not dwell in the State House nor in the possible successes of new political parties. It rather resides in great department stores, in factory systems, and in the feudal power and feudal arrogance of gigantic trusts. With the invention of various mechanical contrivances and with the changed conditions of existence, there has been a growing tendency to organize business and industry as armies are organized, with a few chief captains elaborately and profusely enriched and decorated, and with the great mass of people in strict subjection, earning only a pittance a day, who, if they remonstrate against hardships and injustice, are abruptly dismissed from the ranks to starve. These privates not only have no voice in the general management of affairs, but they even allude to their own personal difficulties and sense of outrage at the peril of their subsistence; and they are rendered more helpless by being acquainted with only one part of the occupation they pursue. Granted that manufacturing must now be carried on by immense aggregations of capital and on a very large scale, and that discipline is imperative, it does not follow that the accepted

[1] "Fabian Essays."

method of organization to-day is the ideal one, or that wholesome discipline necessitates the conversion of an intelligent human being into a dumb, dead portion of soulless mechanism. We shall have opportunity in a succeeding chapter of pointing out a better method than the one now so generally adopted; but in the meanwhile we insist that the current management of industrial works, with of course some exceptions, is of such a character as to rob men of their independence. It is too imperious, dictatorial, and absolute, and pushes autocracy too far.

The Hon. Carroll D. Wright, of labor statistic celebrity, perceives this disastrous failing, and in a few words shows that were this haughty spirit moderated and the employed taken into confidential relations with employers, it would be better for both parties. Addressing a meeting held under the auspices of the "Associated Charities," of Lynn (1898), among other things he said:

> If industrial conditions necessitate, in the opinion of employing capital, a reduction of wages, this reduction should be restored when business conditions allow. Confidential relations should be established between both parties to production, and if this situation could be brought about, the present struggle between capital and labor would be considerably softened. At the present time the tendency of wages is upward and the gist of things downward. The unit of production is much smaller than it was thirty-five years ago. The margin by which capital hopes to realize upon its investments is continually growing smaller. If confidence can be established between both parties at issue, you have gone a great way toward softening, if not removing, the trouble.

But if efforts are not made toward this end,—and if they are made at all they must begin with employers,—and if the present policy of certain leading concerns is

to be maintained, then there must continue to be a waste of men in the interest of wealth, and a destruction of individuality in the interest of organization.

In the times of Louis XIV., a French peasant said: "They crop us as the sheep crop grass." He referred to the reigning nobility. And another of the same class exclaimed on the eve of the Revolution: "They treat us like their food." We surely all recall Carlyle's picture of the startled Louis XV. in the woods of Sinart, when he encountered the poor man bearing the coffin, and heard the explanation that the corpse was a fellow-being who had perished of starvation. Langland's vision of English society in the fourteenth century conjures up many pictures of wrong and suffering. It seems incredible to suppose that modern life can furnish parallels to these instances of abject and wretched cowering before the titled and the rich. But there can be no doubt that such parallels exist, and that they can be found even in New England where, if anywhere, they should by this time have become impossible.

The strike which occurred among the operatives (1898) in the cotton industries brought to light a condition of things which can hardly be reconciled with the intelligence and humanitarianism of Massachusetts. A Methodist clergyman of unimpeachable veracity is reported in a Boston paper[1] as saying of this unfortunate convulsion:

> I cannot blame the participants in this industrial conflict against a cruel and wholly unjustifiable reduction in wages. In view of the large dividends paid to the stockholders, and the already small wages paid to most of the operatives, together with the encourag-

[1] "The Traveller," February 3, 1898.

ing prospect of trade generally, I cannot regard the present course of the manufacturers as anything better than an attempt to place the shackles of Southern slaves on Northern freemen. Slavery was abolished at the close of the Civil War, nevermore to be resurrected in this fair land, and eternal infamy shall be the reward of those who attempt to re-establish it.

And the same journal quotes with approval these comments from some remarks made by Hon. E. McRae, of Arkansas :

I have reason to believe that mill bondage in New England, in its dire effect upon the operatives, is far more degrading than was plantation bondage in the South. And while I do not intend to defend slavery in the South, I may say this : The Southern people found the Negro a barbarian, and they civilized him. Aside from any question of sentiment, self-interest dictated that the Negro be well fed and well clothed. The Southern Negro was brought into contact with the refinement and cultivation that usually prevailed in the homes of the planters. If he were ill he had the best attention.

The inference is that these dependents on the Northern industrial oligarchies are not being advanced toward civilization, and are being reduced to a state of barbarism, or are being prevented from delivering their mind and body from its brutalizing influences. These accounts being trustworthy, what are these operatives but "dumb, driven cattle"? They must yield obedience; they have no alternative; and even pleas for merciful consideration are often treated coarsely and cruelly. From the paper we have already quoted we gather an illustration of what we mean :

Only to-day I heard of a case in point. A loom-fixer at one of the mills here was in ill-health. Water had entered the cellar of the mill in some manner, and was quite deep on the floors. This

man was ordered to help clear out the cellar. He was afraid to undertake the task in his weak condition, and told his overseer that he was not able to do such work ; that it was almost sure to lay him up, and asked to be excused. He was told to go into the cellar and go to work at once, or to the office and get what was coming to him. The poor man had a wife and several small children depending on him for bread, so there was nothing for him but to obey his master. There was no use in appealing to the humanity of a man who was two-thirds brute and the other third coward, so he went down into that wet cellar and did as he was ordered. There were plenty of strong, robust men who would have been glad to take his place, for these poor souls are all compassion for one another ; they have not had all the kindness and sympathetic feeling driven out of them yet, which is a wonder. But none of them was allowed to substitute for his sick companion. The man performed his task. He helped bail out the cellar ; but two days afterward he was sick in his bed and unable to go to the mill for some time thereafter. He was obliged to have a physician, his symptoms being most alarming. When he went back to work he was far from complete recovery, and in a day or two had to give up and take his bed again. As soon as he could get about he went back the second time, but was again obliged to ask for leave of absence, when the overseer said to him : "You can keep out of this place in future ; we can't be bothered with sick men." And the poor soul lost his situation—lost it because he was ordered into water pretty nearly knee deep at a time when his health was broken and his lungs weak. If his overseer had not been a fiend incarnate, this man would have been spared the long illness in the first place, the doctor's bill in the second, and discharge finally. A Negro slave would be in clover compared with his white brother of the Northern cotton mills.

This statement of facts is of more significance than any imaginary picture that could be painted by the touch of literary genius, however true it might be to the spirit of the age. Here we have an authentic report, a report of what is taking place in one of the

most enlightened economical centers in the world. The victim of the outrage is not treated as a man, as a being with real individuality, but as a creature whose personality has somehow been lost in the maze of wheels and spindles which make up a cotton mill. To the callous overseer he is assuredly no brother, not even a cousin in the fortieth degree, but a mere piece of mechanism, oddly enough made in the likeness of a man, but not to be dealt with as though he really were a man. Let such methods as these generally be adopted, let laborers be at the mercy of foremen and of supercilious money magnates, and inevitably the sense of manhood and of womanhood, and the consciousness of independence, will be stamped out of millions of our fellow-citizens.

Orders have been issued by some street railway companies that their employees must avoid combinations, and permanent "unions" among them are discouraged. It was pitiable to see the timidity exhibited by motormen and conductors when an effort was made to induce them to appeal for a rest day—one whole day in seven. They seemed to feel that leaders in such a movement, however respectful, would be spotted, and would in a little while be conveniently laid off. And this too in America! Here, where the welfare of the nation rests on the vigor and independence of the voter, we are tolerating at the heart of our trade-system monopolies and corporations, whose methods are slowly incapacitating multitudes for the responsibilities of self-government. Nor must any one dare to impeach their high-handed oppressions. If unarmed processions should demonstrate a feeble determination not to be wholly crushed out of all semblance of freemen, the wretched creatures

would be shot down in their tracks by the officers of law, who make themselves the tools and minions of capital. The crack of the slave-driver's whip is also heard over the press and the pulpit; and were they generally to cringe, individuality, beyond the circle of a few privileged classes, would be pretty much strangled and suffocated throughout our country.

This is very serious business. We want it stopped before it goes any farther. It may be arrested at this point, and before disastrous consequences ensue. Never should it be forgotten that it is a crime, and that they who commit it, and they who aid it by any kind of complicity, are incurring a very grave responsibility. The pages of history are crowded with instances which go to prove that this iniquity cannot continue to prosper, and may involve the perpetrator and even innocent people in tremendous loss and suffering. It would seem from the annals of all ages that humanity is patient, long-suffering, bows its neck to the yoke, and endures up to a certain point; but just when its individuality appears to be on the eve of perishing, it reasserts itself terribly in howling mobs, in wild retaliations, and in unrestrainable fury, like the inundations and devastations of a maddened sea.

Permit us to recall "The Statute of Laborers," enacted in the reign of Edward III., by which wages were fixed and vexatious regulations of various kinds imposed. By this law carpenters were to receive threepence per day, freemasons fourpence, and their "knaves" one penny half-penny, thatchers threepence, plasterers the same, and their knaves one-half the amount. By this paternalism it was also decreed that "all alliances and

covins of carpenters and masons were to be wholly annulled," thus preventing the formation of trades unions or other organizations for the advantage of working people. In 1363 several acts were passed ordaining that servants shall receive milk, meat, and cheese, once a day; that shepherds shall not buy cloth exceeding sixpence a yard, or yeomen, traders, and artificers one shilling and sixpence. The length of their shoes was determined for them, and burdens of the most onerous description were mercilessly laid on them.. All this legislation, as you doubtless perceive, was in the interest of the landed proprietors and great barons, and discriminated unjustly and injuriously against the commons; yet those who sanctioned it were convinced of its wisdom and importance, and imagined that the oppression of the poor and the sacrifice of their happiness would contribute to their own security and prosperity. They were rudely roused from this delusion by the stirring events of 1377–1381. Maddened by these cruel exactions, and by the imposition of unequal taxes to defray the expenses of foreign wars, and incited by Ball, the "mad priest of Kent," as Froissart calls him, and alarmed by the spread of the plague known as the "Black Death," which only exposed them to additional wrongs at the hands of their tyrants, the people under Wat Tyler appealed to arms, marched a hundred thousand strong on London and there asserted their rights. An old ballad relates:

> And then they march't with one consent
> Through London with a rude intent,
> And to fulfill their lewd desire
> They set the Savoy all on fire.

> And for the hate that they did bear
> Unto the Duke of Lancashire,
> Therefore his house they burned quite,
> Through envy, malice, and despite.

Green, in his history of "The English People," reports Ball as saying in his sermons: "Things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be gentlemen and villains." Hume also writes: "It was pretended that the intentions of the mutineers had been to seize the king's person, to carry him through England at their head, to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests, except the mendicant friars; to dispatch afterward the king himself and, having thus reduced all to a level, to order the kingdom at their pleasure." He admits that in the delirium of success some such projects may have been entertained, and he records some deeds of violence in justification of this suspicion; but he shows that the actual demands of the insurgents were altogether of a reasonable character. These demands were conceded by royal authority, but were ultimately rejected, all decrees and charters executed in their favor being revoked as soon as the mob dispersed.

To the superficial reader it may appear that this movement and the subsequent one under Cade, 1450, were simply disastrous failures and pernicious in their effects on the popular cause. This opinion, however, is not altogether warranted. It is of course true that Tyler, Straw, Cade, and their followers did not succeed as they expected; and yet they accomplished more than history allows—they taught with painful distinctness

that individualism never perishes unavenged, and in the long run will strike back at its foes. They did this unconsciously and their masters were dull students; yet to all after ages and to us they plainly reveal the danger attending the unnatural policy of building up the interests of one portion of the community at the expense of the other, and the insecurity of the advantages and their destructive reaction against themselves which result from this crafty scheme of segregation. Had the king and barons of those times possessed discernment, which unfortunately they did not, they would have perceived that every enactment which tended to impoverish the people imperiled their own fortunes, and that every attack on the liberty, the industry, independence, and enterprise of the masses must ultimately recoil with terrible force against themselves.

That, however, which the infatuation of selfishness prevented them from seeing was again forced on the attention of the world by the sanguinary revolt of German peasants in the sixteenth century. The lot of the *rustauds* was indeed deplorable. They were the prey of priests and nobles, and were treated by them as imbeciles and slaves. Robbed, scourged, imprisoned, murdered at the pleasure of their superiors, they were alike strangers to joy and hope. Bankers, like the Fuggers of Augsburg, were enormously wealthy, and some of the great nobles were exceedingly rich, but the nation as such was poor. The more money wrung through cruel exactions from the peasants by ecclesiastical and laical plunderers the less they seemed able to retain in their own coffers. The entire population was practically beggared by the rapacious greed of the few, and

only a few of the few were profited by the grasping policy of the times. It is related of the Fuggers that when they entertained Charles V. at their palatial residence, they warmed his apartment by burning sandal-wood which they kindled with royal bonds given for moneys loaned the emperor—a senseless and vulgar display of wealth somewhat similar to those which have occurred in our own day. But this splendid blaze serves to bring into relief the dire darkness and distress of the people, and the sharp contrast really heightens the solemn truth that national decadence follows the monopoly of wealth. This truth, however, was to receive a bloody vindication during the fateful years of 1524–5, and it was again to be tragically illustrated that the law of solidarity will ever find calamitous and terrific means of retaliation against its violators and despisers. The bankers lit their sandal-wood fire to illuminate their affluence; but the outraged peasants started a conflagration of a different kind to illuminate their indigence. Encouraged by the battlewords of Luther and exasperated by their sufferings, the peasants rose in rebellion against their lords in Swabia, in the Black Forest, in Franconia, in the valley of the Neckar, in Hesse, Thuringia, and Saxony. Some among them painted a sun on a white banner and took for a motto the words:

Wer frey will seyn,
Der folge diesem Sonnenschein.[1]

They were mistaken. In one sense popular move-

[1] A free translation of this is:

Let that one who will be free,
A follower of this Sunburst be.

ments lead to the light, but not when they set out to burn private property and to give the treasures of ages to devouring flames. This was the blunder of the peasants, as it was of the Parisian Communists after the fall of Napoleon III. The only sun of these despairing serfs was that which they ignited in their wrath and which reddened mountain top and quiet vale. Convents, churches, castles, they doomed to the torch of the incendiary, and property worth millions was reduced to ashes. Hot work this, with a vengeance; but altogether too terrific and scorifying to suit our hyperborean ideas of prudence or even of right. One wrong does not justify another, and is certainly no remedy for wrong. It only divides the already divided community and further alienates those who ought to be united. The peasants harassed and slaughtered the nobles and destroyed their possessions, as many of their own number had been slaughtered and as many of their own little homes had been destroyed. Retribution works through them, but not reform or social regeneration. They are ultimately overborne and subdued and taste once more the bitterness of oppression. Nevertheless, though their immediate purposes were thwarted, they had revealed to Europe that its safety and prosperity depended on the well-being of the many, not of the few, and that the sacrifice of the millions to the excessive greed of the hundreds being totally subversive of the divine law of fraternity, must inevitably be attended by revolts, recklessness, and bloodshed, in which the fortunes of the favored ones, and probably their lives, will be swallowed up.

When in 1535 Charles V. with a powerful army

moved on the mighty slave-holding chief Barbarossa, at Tunis, it seemed very doubtful whether he could reduce him to submission, and likely the result had been different from what it was but for the white slaves in the town who, at great risk to themselves, rose in arms and overthrew the tyrant. These slaves constituted the one weak and vulnerable point in the camp of Barbarossa. He did not appreciate this fact, and he fell. So the peasants of Germany were an element of peril to their oppressors, ready on every suitable occasion to break through restraints and avenge themselves. Thus likewise the suffering multitudes of France at a later period were a stifled threat to royalty and its allies, and when an emergency occurred, and the throne was practically bankrupt, they swiftly took advantage of these embarrassments, deluged the streets of Paris in blood, and brought to the block the men and women who had neglected them and had treated them as "dumb, driven cattle." So also now the pauper population and the criminal classes are a constant menace to the money kings, whose reign is stained by cruel exactions and gigantic frauds, and the opportunity is only needed for these discontented and degraded peoples to rise in their fury and execute a horrible retaliation on those who have so pitilessly abused their confidence, necessities, and helplessness. Perhaps, then, when dynamite is wrecking the property, and hoarse, drunken crowds are yelling for their blood, and when lurid flames, belching cannon, murderous musketry, and devilish orgies announce the triumph of death and destruction, this glittering, greedy, grasping, grinding gentry of ours, will waken from their present pleasing slumbers and discover

that individualism is something more than a philosophical abstraction, and is, indeed, nothing less than a tremendous reality, charged with sulphurous smoke and scorching lava and doomsday lightnings destined to stifle, consume, and blast those who have treated it with supercilious scorn and contempt.

We are hoping that civilization may never be exposed to the fury of such tempests as these, though we have written of them as we have. We fear they are imminent, but we are sure they can be averted. Let the principle be incorporated in our industrial systems that it is perilous economy to destroy the efficiency of the producer for the sake of production, and that the chief end of all trade is not cheapness, but the general prosperity of society, and the threatening storm-clouds will begin to disperse. They will be further dispelled and the horizon cleared, if popular education continues and improves, and if measures are speedily adopted (of which I will say more anon) to secure to every child the rights and opportunities of childhood. As it is, many victims of the present repressive methods among American manufacturers are of foreign birth, and have been imported directly or indirectly by their employers to supersede the more independent native born artisan, and incidentally to illustrate the kind of protection which high tariff laws furnish to American labor. These poor people in their own country had hardly any voice in the direction of their own lives, and were accustomed meekly to submit to the rule of their masters, and consequently they are docile when first domesticated among us, and have neither the capacity nor the spirit to stand up for their right to fair treatment.

Gradually many of them get over this timidity, and then, according to the European fashion, the pendulum of feeling swings to the opposite extreme, and we have strikes ending in violence.

To counteract the evil effects of this immigration, greater care must be taken with the training of children. The offspring of foreigners as well as of native-born Americans must be educated, educated whether their parents are willing or not, and the scope of their education must widen with the necessities of the case. They must not only be taught the traditional branches, but they should receive at least elementary instruction in the ethics of industry, so that they may know how to respect the rights of their employers, and how to define and defend their own.

In this department of endeavor, Christianity is pre-eminently fitted to render conspicuous service. It seems almost contradictory to affirm that she individualizes and unifies at the same time. Yet this is the simple truth. The social life she contemplates is not the inter-communion of human beings who have been depleted of their personal attributes, but the free interblending of those who develop themselves fully that they may thus contribute to the fuller life of the whole. In her vision nothing is common or unclean. To her man is greater than the temple, greater even than the Sabbath; for these were made for man, for his sanctification and happiness, and he was not made for them. She pronounces a woe on him who shall offend one of Christ's little ones, not only the babe in years, but the child in ability and in opportunity or privilege. The weak, the poor, the lonely are her special charge, and

she reiterates anathemas on the strong and arrogant who become their oppressors. She proclaims that every man must render an account for himself, that there is no respect of persons with God, and that Jesus has tasted death for every creature, thus in these varied ways revealing and upholding the sacredness and grandeur of the individual. And in harmony with her aim to specialize and socialize the race, we find a striking phenomenon running through her history. She has constantly been rent and divided, and divided again, by the opinions, theories, and ambitions of her adherents. Over and over again it has been pointed out that reforms and revolutions which have touched her own beliefs and activities, have almost uniformly begun among her leaders, her priests, and her preachers. Therefore, instead of subverting independence, she has rather intensified it, and has armed it against her own uniformity.

While on general principles we deplore sects and parties, yet as we think of them and recall their origin, we see clearly that they are signs of an individuality of the most uncompromising quality. This gain to society is possibly more than a compensation for what has been apparently lost through denominationalism, especially in these days when we are beginning to perceive that these particular divisions are no more inimical to real spiritual fellowship than the distinct waves are to the solidarity and the functions of the ocean. We cannot, therefore, at this juncture dispense with the services of our holy religion. She must renew her efforts to magnify the dignity and worth of every human being. Through her various agencies, in the pulpit, the Sunday-school, and

in her ministrations among the homes of the rich and the poor alike, she must continue to enforce the teaching of her Lord, that man is much "better than a sheep," aye, and better too, and of more moment to society, than the finest piece of machinery ever built, or the cheapest piece of cotton ever woven. And if she will push her way through the smoke of factories, and will cause her voice to be heard above the roar of furnaces and the ceaseless rattle and click of looms, and if she will not hesitate to say to capital as to labor, "Now, is not a man much better than a sheep?" all must listen and understand, and at last come to appreciate her message.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIALISTIC SALVATION

JOSEPHUS [1] gives in graphic terms a description of the distinguishing peculiarity of the ancient Essenes. He writes, and as we read it is well-nigh impossible not to apply his words to other parties and sects that are prominent in our own times :

> These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor is there to be found any one among them who hath more than another ; for it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order, insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of poverty or excess of riches, but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions, and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren.

This rule that never made out of the fraternity professing it a civilizing force, and that never led to any memorable achievements in arts or letters, has repeatedly, with slight modifications, been revived and advocated as being sufficient for the salvation of society. The pages of Benoit Malon,[2] and the more recent volume from the pen of Herr Kautsky,[3] furnish a most instructive and interesting account of the different schools, philosophical and religious, political and industrial, which have recommended this remedy, from Plato to Sir Thomas More, from the rise of Dolcino in Piedmont at

[1] "Wars," Book II., chap. VIII., sec. 3. [2] "*Histoire du Socialisme.*"
[3] "*Die Vorläufer des neuerin Sozialismus.*"

the beginning of the fourteenth century to the appearance of Thomas Münzer in Germany amid the early convulsions of the sixteenth; and from the growth of monastic communism to the inauguration of the Taborite movement in Bohemia; and from all of these attempts and experiments, more or less crude, to the elaborate systems of socialism whose *mot d'ordre* now is "convert the electors and capture the county councils." [1]

The principle of the foundation of these schools, and from which so much has been expected and is still expected, is a species of mutualism. They join in hearty condemnation of individualism, and as a whole may be contrasted with anarchy. The two schemes are utterly at variance. They are irreconcilable with each other. The theory of Bakounine, Herzen, and the nihilistic *entourage* is, substantially, the reformation of society by its abrogation; a remedy as efficacious as the decapitation of a monarch to cure him of tyranny. They argue that the world is overmuch governed, and that as the people are better off where there is least government,—as in America,—none at all would mean perfect happiness and prosperity. Rousseau's "state of nature" underlies their reasoning and their hopes. The fallacy involved in their position may be easily illustrated. Too much food is an injury to the body, and excessive labor breaks it down; but would it not be absurd to argue that as moderation in eating and working are promotive of health, we would be stronger and better off were we to dispense with both? Steam is an important force, but for it to be available certain machinery must be constructed. At the beginning of its application the

[1] "Fabian Essays," p. 153.

machinery was comparatively rude and cumbersome. During recent years it has become more delicate and exact; but what would be thought of our sanity were we to insist that steam could be utilized without any machinery at all? In hygiene and mechanics true wisdom adapts means to the end, and does not abrogate them altogether. So in society, its welfare and happiness depend on the precise and scientific adaptation of government to administrative functions. Professor Huxley points out the only conditions under which it would be superfluous, when he says:

> Strict anarchy may be the highest conceivable grade of perfection of social existence; but, if all men spontaneously did justice and loved mercy, it is plain that all swords might advantageously be turned into plowshares, and that the occupation of judges and police would be gone.[1]

Socialism has no confidence in any such idealism as this, and insists that companionship and organized mutualism are indispensable to the salvation of society.

Now let us bear in mind that, rightly defined and taken within certain prescribed limitations, this is primarily a gospel conception, and against it no valid objection can be brought. We read in the New Testament that we are to bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ. Love is there enjoined as the bond of perfectness and as the source of hope. The rich are there described as the stewards of God, as his servants entrusted with material treasures, not to be lavished on themselves, but to be conscientiously employed for the advantage of the unfortunate and desti-

[1] "Essays," Vol. I., p. 39.

tute. Such an ideal of brotherhood as this is surely beyond criticism, and were it really supreme in the practical affairs of the world, social conditions would, in a large measure, be equalized; for then there would be more unity and less separateness, more co-operation and less competition, and there would be more justice and less injustice.

If this is all that is meant by socialism, every one ought to glory in being classed with its supporters; and if this is all, then Jesus Christ himself was its truest exponent, and indeed was its founder. He lived for others, gave himself for others, died for others, and entreated others to imitate his example. Dim vision of this relation of the Jewish peasant-prophet to social regeneration had the Parisian communists in 1850. In some of their halls might then be seen the picture of that sacred form, and underneath this significant inscription, "First Representative of the People." They felt that in a real sense he was allied to them, that he too desired the emancipation of humanity, and though they did not see how different their plans were from his, they yet looked up to him as their friend and leader. Like the Master, and in the same way, all who are in truth his followers have at heart the common weal, and hence if this is all the socialistic name imports, as Proudhon intimates it is, then are they entitled to bear it, and none more entitled than they. Be it understood then, we have no controversy with this use of the word.

But, as we all must be aware, it is not usually employed in this loose and general way. It commonly, and always, when persons are trying to speak accurately,

stands for a particular school of economical science, a school which, if we may credit Deputy Joerg, in the German Parliament, has been making extraordinary progress during the past few years. The peculiarities of this sect are, first, mutualism; secondly, mutualism, not in spirit and effort only, but with more or less completeness, in property and remuneration; and thirdly, mutualism carried into effect through the medium of law, or in other words, arranged and maintained by government. This definition we have purposely made as broad as possible consistent with faithfulness, so as to afford a place for every variety and phase of thought which legitimately may claim to be embraced in it. Socialism as thus understood, not as a spirit, but as a method, we cannot but regard as open to serious objections, which ought to be carefully pondered before its principles are finally avowed.

In 1863 Ferdinand Lasalle created in Germany a political party on the basis of the principles laid down by Karl Marx in "*Das Kapital*," and these in turn were embodied in several articles, five of which I give, adopted by the "International Workingmen's Association," September 12, 1864, in London. They declare:

1. That the emancipation of the working classes is not a class issue, as their triumph will abolish all classes; and that it must be accomplished by themselves alone. 2. That their economic dependence on those who own the means of all production forms the sole basis of servitude, social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence. 3. That therefore all other things must be subordinated to the emancipation of the laborer. 4. That all past endeavors have failed from want of unity among the workers, and that their cause is one without regard to national laws. 5. That the emancipation of labor therefore belongs to the world,

being a social problem, coexistent with the modern state of production and distribution.

The declaration closed by proclaiming that the first duty of all so associated was to "acknowledge truth, justice, and morality as the basis of their behavior among themselves and toward all of their fellow-men, without regard to color, creed, or nationality." It affirms that it is "the duty of a man to demand the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but also for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties ; no duties without rights."

Subsequently, at an international congress held in Switzerland (1867), the demands of this body comprehended common ownership and use of land, and of all economic franchises and instruments of production. That is, the programme abrogated private property in land, in the means of production, and exalted the State over industrial interests as over political concerns. This is socialism. There are sections and schools into which this general movement is divided; but they are one in the fundamental principle proclaimed at Lausanne ; for as Gen. Francis A. Walker wrote in 1887 :

> That which characterizes the proper socialist is a distrust or dislike of competition as an agency for distributing the products of industry, or a distrust or dislike of the organization of industrial society into producing classes ; a distrust, a dislike so deep as to induce the purpose to break down what is termed the capitalistic system, by giving to the State the initiative in production, wholly or generally, and the sole or chief control of all industrial enterprise.

It should be remembered that this system is no novelty born of modern radicalism, but has come down to

us from a respectable antiquity. It appeared during the decline of Hellenism, and again when the Roman Republic was tottering to its overthrow. Roscher says, "The speeches of the Gracchi, and in a far ruder fashion, the conspiracy of Catiline, remind us of the catchwords of modern socialism." Moreover, it is a remarkable fact, that whenever society has been unusually depraved, divided, distressed, many earnest philanthropists have looked to this "ism" for relief, and even some Christians have apparently regarded it not without some degree of favor. There is a trifle of the *faubourg* communist in John Chrysostom when he declares that it would be preferable for all things to be in common; and we almost seem to be near the Paris barricades of 1848, or in the Hotel de Ville during the siege of 1871, when we hear the pious Jerome exclaiming, "Opulence is always the result of theft," and the saintly Clement arguing that "If justice were enforced there would be a general division of property, private possession being an iniquitous thing." This language warrants the inference that these brethren had a good degree of confidence in the principle of mutualism as an antidote for public ills. Perhaps it was impossible for them to feel otherwise, having the example of the apostolic church before them, where everything apparently had been in common. It was natural that they should regard with approval the extension of a practice which for a time at least had worked very admirably. But let it not be forgotten that what was done by the disciples at Jerusalem was done voluntarily. No one compelled them to do as they did; particularly the State did not coerce them, and the experiment was of brief duration.

A brilliant English critic reviewing the work of Herr Kautsky, already mentioned in this chapter, does not hesitate to say that, after thorough research, he is quite clear that this Jerusalem incident has been quite generally misapprehended. His summing up of the case we have in this paragraph :

> The most that could be inferred from this and other still more casual references bearing on the subject, is that the duty of charity toward poorer brethren, being one of the precepts of the new faith, an extensive system of almsgiving and taking prevailed among the enthusiastic members of the youthful communities founded upon it. Of any necessary connection between the "holding all things in common" and the fundamental articles of that faith, or even of such a voluntary communism having existed outside of Palestine, there is no evidence whatever. Altogether, the attempt to prove that any theory of communism formed an integral or important element in early Christianity seems to us to break down completely. At that time the thoughts of men were turning inward on the soul, seeking emancipation from the ills of life in a mystical and supernatural sphere, and not in altered material conditions. Christianity answered their questions and solved their problems on the familiar lines along which their own thought was working, and this was a prime cause of its success.

Is it not, therefore, very likely that the Christian Fathers, when they advocated a general division of property, had in view a voluntary surrender, and not a government confiscation? From what is known of them it is not probable that they would have gone so far as some do now, and have recommended that the possessions of the rich should be taken by so-called process of law, and be conferred on those who very likely would not know how to keep them. These venerable men, in our judgment, had no more intention of teaching such a doctrine

as this than Bossuet had when, in his sermon on "The Dignity of the Church's Poor," he gave expression to the following radical sentiments:

"I came," says the Saviour, "to preach the gospel to the poor." *Evangelisare pauperibus misit me.* The rich are tolerated if they assist the poor. In the primitive church everything was in common, so that none should be guilty of leaving another in want. For what injustice, my brethren, that the poor should bear the full burden, that the whole weight of misery should fall on their shoulders! If they complain and murmur against Divine providence—Lord! let me say it—it is not without some appearance of justice; for as we are all made in the same fashion, and there is but little difference between mud and mud, why do we see on one side joy, honor, and affluence, and on the other sorrow and despair, excessive want, and often too, thraldom and contempt.

But though it is not probable that these reverend Fathers were socialists of the type conspicuous in various countries to-day, they yet afford an interesting illustration of the tendency common in almost every age to seek refuge in some form of mutualism from the wrongs and woes of life. As it has been, so is it now; sign this, many persons may suppose, that current theories if applied would indeed renovate and bless society. So we might hope, were it not that experiments in this direction have never been remarkably successful, and have never in any perceptible degree diminished the sum of human sorrow. This has been unhappily proven over and over again, as in the case of the Millenarians, Cenobites, Begging Friars, Taborites, Levelers, and what is more to our purpose, in that of the French labor organization of 1848, when the effort to establish government workshops and regulate capital thrust one hundred

thousand unemployed men on the streets of Paris. Yet in the face of multiplied failures along this line, thousands of intelligent people are apparently anxious to repeat on a much larger scale the mistakes of the past. They still imagine that socialism and the millennium are synonymous terms, and that the adoption of the system described by the former would assuredly introduce the state symbolized by the latter.

This childlike confidence is doubtless to be admired, but it is no pledge or guaranty that it will ever be justified. The constantly recurring appeal to that which has never yet done anything to inspire trust is no evidence that it has "the promise and potency" of a brighter future at its heart; but is rather the humiliating proof of man's blunders and discouragements which, in spite of his better judgment, drive him to a political faith, whose special and only distinct attraction is that it antagonizes and threatens to destroy the present prevailing creed, from the operations of which he continually suffers, and for the defects of which he has been unable to provide a remedy. It is simply another instance of a "forlorn hope"—something like the case of a sailor who heads his ship toward the rocks, though every other vessel that has been steered in that direction has gone to pieces, because he cannot see how to weather the storm, or how to live in it; and because he is wearied and disheartened, and desperately thinks that he had better risk the peril than remain as he is. The rocks may prove more hospitable than the troubled ocean; and in existing circumstances, he knows not what else to do.

Yet better do almost anything else than this. Yes,

"rather bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of"; or, as the quotation is not quite apt, "to others" which, from the knowledge we already have of them, John Stuart Mill to the contrary notwithstanding, must prove infinitely more disastrous than any we are now called on to endure. We do not think that we are doing socialism an injustice by this seemingly harsh statement; for the closer we scrutinize its teachings, and the nearer we come to its advocates, the more deeply we are impressed with its eminent unfitness to reform the institutions of the age. Its charm lies wholly on the surface and is exceedingly superficial. The head and the soul of it are thoroughly deranged, and are totally at fault in their plans and their expectations. Nay, more, we are persuaded that this conviction will be shared even by the skeptical, if they will only take the trouble to examine the disclosures made in various lands and by different parties of its real character and influence.

In aiding all interested in this subject to perform so necessary a work, we would recall for a moment the unfavorable estimate of its worth created by some of its historic developments. Roscher writes:

> A social revolution of the most fearful kind, by which a great part of all private property passed into the hands of those who hitherto had had no possessions (the soldiers), and knew not how to administer it, happened twice during the Roman Republic, viz., under Sylla and the second Triumvirate.

The language which he here employs to describe this revolution is fully justified by the annals of the period referred to. It was indeed "of the most fearful kind,"

carrying dismay and distress to thousands, and failing at almost every point to accomplish permanent good.

But if we come nearer to our own times and study the effects of this "political superstition," as it was preached by Thomas Münzer, in Germany, with its motto, "*Omnia simul communia*," we shall see in the bloody and licentious saturnalia of Westphalia—in which, however, the prophet had no part, as happily for his own sake he had been beheaded before it was inaugurated, but which was a legitimate outcome of his radical doctrine—an illustration of its perniciousness and destructiveness. Nor do we receive a more favorable impression of its value from its peculiar and vigorous growth on French soil. In 1782 Brissot de Warville originated the phrase, afterward employed by Proudhon, *Propriété c'est le vol;* and in the name of equality, we suppose, commended the temporary union of sexes which prevails among animalistic tribes. Babœuf, in 1796, headed a wretched conspiracy in behalf of a community of goods and of labor. One Sylvain Maréchal also exclaimed:

> We wish real equality or death. The French revolution is only the precursor of another much greater, more solemn, and the final one. Let all the arts perish if need be, provided real equality remains for us. . . No more individual property in lands. The land belongs to no person. We demand, we seek, the common enjoyment of the fruits of the soil. The fruits are for all the world.

This fanatic undoubtedly expressed the real spirit of communism in the stormful times of Napoleon, and there is no reason for supposing that it has grown more conservative in this latter part of the nineteenth century.

Indeed, a representative of this delusion from Germany has in various ways indicated its substantial agreement with opinions loudly proclaimed a hundred years ago in Europe. We reproduce a conversation published in the "New York World" some time ago, between a reporter and Herr Most, the party referred to, and who is not inappropriately called "The Apostle of Anarchy." This conversation will not only give to the reader a clear conception of what socialism is, but will establish its consanguinity with theories as old as the dreams of Plato. The interview proceeds in this manner:

"Herr Most, to what school of socialists do you belong?"

"I believe in the theory of the Karl Marx school and the practice of tactics of the anarchists. I am a thorough believer in the commune."

"What is communism?"

"I should give you a book to answer that question. Communism is the ownership of everything by everybody. For instance, take all the iron-workers in the country—workmen, superintendents, agents—every one connected with iron. Well, they should own all the works and all the iron. There should be no capitalists, no men for whom other men work. The land of the country should be owned by the people, the manufactures by those interested in them. If all the people work, very little work by each man will be enough. Each man should have an equal interest in the production of all, and all should have an interest in the work of each one."

"How could the commune get the necessary capital for such a state of things?"

"As the workmen to-day are only paid enough to keep body and soul together, they can never raise the capital themselves. But if the socialists once get polit-

ical power they will confiscate the money now in the hands of the capitalists for the benefit of the new society. That is communism—the only just political arrangement."

"Suppose that communism existed and you and I were working. Suppose you chose to work harder than I worked, would you get more money?"

"That is one of the great difficulties. My party believes that pure communism would embrace the rights of the minority as well as those of the majority. If the minority worked harder than the majority, then they would have more. Why not? Why could there not be two societies, the majority and minority, each having its own?"

"But that does not answer my question. Suppose you worked harder; you have always been a hard working man, I believe?"

"I have always worked hard."

"Well, then, suppose you worked harder than I did, would you be a minority of one—would you get more money than what came to me?"

"Why should I work harder than you? If I have all that I want and know that my children would be educated by the State or by society, why should I work hard?"

"But suppose that you did, in spite of all the reasons you would have for not doing so, would you get more money? In other words, would the reward for effort under the commune be in proportion to the effort?"

"As I said, that is one of the difficulties about which the leaders in the movement are not decided. It is a detail which can be settled by and by when the commune is established, and I cannot answer the question yet."

"Does the section of the socialists to which you belong believe in assassination?"

"That is another very difficult question. Take the case of Russia. One man's will governs eighty or ninety

millions of people. Should that man be insane or peevish or bad-tempered he can cause untold suffering. He can get up in the morning and order ten thousand people exiled to Siberia. Such a man is a monster, and I believe that a monster should be put to death, whether he has two legs, four legs, or six legs. I think that the killing of the czar was an act of justice, and that it should not be called assassination, but self-defense. Think of the misery that man caused. If he could have died a hundred times it would not have been a tithe of what he deserved."

"To go a step further, is assassination justifiable in a constitutional government?"

"I do not know exactly what you mean."

"Suppose the socialists wished to overturn the government of England. Suppose that the queen were killed to-morrow, the prince of Wales the next day, his eldest son the next, and that is kept up for ten days. At the end of that time it would be safe to say there would be no persons willing to accept the crown of England. Would such a thing be justifiable from a socialistic standpoint?"

"Such a series of killing would be an impossibility."

"Of course it would be impossible; but if it were possible, would it be justifiable? In other words, do the socialists think terrorism a justifiable weapon to use?"

"Terrorism such as you describe would be justifiable if the socialists could through it obtain power. Anything is justifiable by means of which the commune could be established."

These sentiments recall a scene in Shakespeare's play of "Henry VI., Part II." Referring to the insurrection under Jack Cade, the dramatist represents a messenger as saying of the rebels:

> All scholars, lawyers, courtiers, gentlemen,
> They call false caterpillars, and intend their death.

Then into the mouth of Cade himself, to whom it is likely the poet has not done historic justice, he puts the words:

"I thank you, good people; there shall be no money; all shall eat and drink on my score, and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers, and worship me, their lord."

Precisely so. Somebody *must* be lord. There must be administration, and hence masters and sub-masters, and we need not be surprised if Jack Cade or Herr Most covets the dignity. Proudhon shows that we inevitably would have a new form of the old evil were we to adopt the programme of Cade and his sympathizers; for in the radical changes which it proposes, "inequality would spring from placing mediocrity on a level with excellence." Such a "damaging equation," as he terms it, "would simply pull down those who are up, without lifting up those who are down." Herbert Spencer, in his pamphlet entitled, "Man *Versus* the State," indicates that the poet is not very far out of the way in his picture of what the ambitious leader of social levelism states so bluntly. "Our Synthetic Philosopher," as Mr. Spencer has been called, argues, and that too, very conclusively, that the socialistic movement, instead of equalizing, would inevitably tend toward slavery. On this point we have already quoted Mr. Spencer, but there is another passage of the same general tenor which may be read with profit:

What is essential to the idea of a slave? We primarily think of him as one who is owned by another. To be more than nominal, however, the ownership must be shown by control of the

slave's actions—a control which is habitually for the benefit of the controller. That which fundamentally distinguishes the slave is that he labors under coercion to satisfy another's desires. The relation admits of sundry gradations. . .

If all the slave's labor is for his owner, the slavery is heavy, and if but little, it is light. Take, now, a further step. Suppose an owner dies, and his estate with its slaves comes into the hands of trustees ; or suppose the estate and everything on it to be bought by a company ; is the condition of the slave any the better if the amount of his compulsory labor remains the same? Suppose that for a company we substitute the community ; does it make any difference to the slave if the time he has to work for others is as great, and the time left for himself is as small as before? The essential question is : How much is he compelled to labor for other benefit than his own, and how much can he labor for his own benefit? The degree of his slavery varies according to the ratio between that which he is forced to yield up and that which he is allowed to retain ; and it matters not whether his master is a single person or a society. If, without option, he has to labor for the society, and receives from the general stock such portion as the society awards him, he becomes a slave to the society. Socialistic arrangements necessitate an enslavement of this kind ; and toward such an enslavement many recent measures, and still more the measures advocated, are carrying us.

David Dudley Field goes a step even beyond this, and in the July number, 1885, of "The North American Review," referring to Mr. George's particular theory, points out a danger that would be incurred by accumulating in the coffers of the State as much money as the actual working of his plan would inevitably commit to its keeping. It would have to be collected and disbursed, and he argues this "would tend to the corruption of the government beyond all former precedent." This peril would necessarily increase in proportion as the government's oversight and management were ex-

tended to all departments of industry and property, as would be the case in unadulterated socialism, and the end, judging from what is known of humanity, would probably be, not merely a despotism, but a rascally despotism at that.

There are other objections to the science of society advocated by such men as Herr Most, which press themselves on the attention of thoughtful people, and which ought to be considered here. First of all, the more it is studied the more deadly will its influence appear on diligence and enterprise. Elliott, the rhymer, has some very striking lines on the communist's character, which are significant:

> What is a communist? One who hath yearnings
> For equal division of unequal earnings;
> Idler or bungler, he's one who is willing
> To fork out his penny and pocket your shilling.

Then he gives us this conception of his prayer:

> Lord, send us weeks of Sundays,
> A saint's day every day!
> Shirts gratis, ditto breeches,
> Less work and double pay!

To some of our readers this description may seem a burlesque; but if they will reflect a moment it will grow on them as a faithful portraiture. If the State is to care for everybody, is it not reasonable to expect that many "bodies" will simply fall back on their protector, and supinely rely on this blessed agency to feed, clothe, and house them? Wendell Philips once said that the minority under existing arrangements has to think and work for the majority, and this majority very likely

would increase indefinitely were it accepted as a fundamental principle that it could transfer the responsibility for its welfare to the government. A premium this, offered to improvidence and shiftlessness. What a delightful paradise society would become for *lazzaroni* and gaberlunzie men, and for the whole tattered fraternity of idlers and beggars who believe that "the world owes them a living" under the benign auspices of State paternalism.

If it shall be said, no such paradise would open to these parasites, as they would be compelled to work under the new *régime*, even if punishment had to be inflicted; then what an edifying spectacle would be presented in the name of equality of one portion of the dear people driving slavelike, with scourgings manifold, the other portion to their toil. And then suppose these good-for-nothings would not be driven, as probably they would not, what a millennium of insurrection, bloodshed, and finally of anarchy, would ensue. The workings of this political hallucination would unquestionably speedily put an end to equality; or rather it would never have any beginning; and if there were equality at all, it would be that of the slimy pond with never the possibility of a grand billow to break the dreary monotony of its surface. For why should there be enterprise when there could be no reward? And without enterprise society would be malariously stagnant. The motto of St. Simon, who, by the way, is frequently misunderstood or maligned, was "to each one according to his capacity; to each capacity according to its work."

This is a sound saying, but obnoxious to the revolutionary school we are considering, which would reward

all alike, whether great or small, useful or useless. Strictly adhered to there could be no encouragements, no honors, no mighty inducements to exceptional endeavors. Even as it is, some, if not all, trades unions stand in their own light by advocating the right of the most worthless workmen to the same pay as that earned by the best. Their standard of excellence in many instances is determined by the dilatory and unskillful; and consequently labor of every kind is temporarily deteriorating in quality. This is one of the significant facts of the times, concerning which these words were written, in substance if not exactly as quoted, by one of the brilliant minds of England:

> You will see a strong, stout laborer dawdling over his task as a sick man with a spark of spirit in him would be ashamed to dawdle, laying a brick daintily here, and another there, and stopping to have a look at it, and to chat with a comrade before he lays another. There are those, however, in the same gang who would lay their bricks at double the rate if they dared. Who is to hinder them? It is the man who works next to them of whom they are afraid. If they show undue diligence they are reported to the union, and a black mark is put against their names, as they are making it harder for the lazy ones to live. The sons of industry are afraid of industry, lest lazy, worthless loons should be forced to work or starve. O men! things have come near to their end when ye organize idleness and make it your god. So long as ye yield to such a blighting tyranny ye are making it more difficult for your class to rise!

But if it is mischievous for a body of people to be organized on such a principle, how ruinous it would be for the community as a whole to adopt it as fundamental to its existence. It would be the paralysis of energy, the arrest of progress. No one would be stimulated to excel

his neighbor, and the ambition of all would be to do less than others, not more. Discoveries, inventions, and improvements would be next to impossible, and only stolidity and stupidity would be at a premium.

Moreover, this scheme may be legitimately objected to on moral grounds. It would be legalized robbery; for the earnings of the deserving would be taken to enrich the undeserving, and this would lead to a bitter sense of wrong and outrage. As the friends of St. Simon said during the memorable controversy of 1830, community of goods "would be a greater act of violence, a more outrageous injustice, than the unequal division which originally was brought about by the power of arms and by conquest." To inaugurate such a state of things there would have to be wholesale spoliation, and this would simply be the public recognition of theft as one of the cardinal virtues. That such spoliation is seriously contemplated in our day is proven by the violent utterances of "*Die Freiheit*," an international organ. In an article headed, "The Last Argument," we have these incendiary threats:

> The proletariat are determined to make the coming war the final war at all hazards. Their object must be to wound the *bourgeoisie* where it is mortal—this place is their property. The coming revolution will not go far before it can be determined whether property can be confiscated for the common good or not. If it can, all the better. If not, property must be destroyed. We say *property* in general, for little would be accomplished by destroying public property and fragments of private property. Whatever the *bourgeoisie* is it is by capital; without capital it is nothing. If, therefore, capital cannot be secured, and if the terrible prospect should be that reaction should again celebrate its orgies over the bodies of the revolutionists, then there can be no hesitating.

General destruction must be proclaimed and practised without favor. It was by these tactics the Teutonic tribes conquered Rome and that Russia vanquished the elder Napoleon. There is no remedy against this policy. The revolutionists of the past have tried to gain a footing in the big cities, and if they could not hold them they were massacred in their streets. In the future such cities as cannot be defended must simply be destroyed, and so thoroughly that not a stone remains in its place. If one hundred thousand men cannot accomplish anything in open battle, a few hundreds of resolute people can envelop in flames a city however large. What the hands of proletarians have erected they have a right to pull down.

If this brigandage and incendiarism are to be countenanced, that the condition of the people may be equalized, why may not the individual, if he shall squander his portion of the goods stolen during the panic attending this promised conflagration in riotous living, plunder his neighbor for his own special advantage? If what my fellow-citizen has is mine, and if what I have is his, what is to restrain me from wasting what is his, and then demanding in peremptory tones what he admits is my own? It may be answered, "law." Well, but the enforcement of law largely depends on public sentiment in its favor, and this theory supposes in the first place the education of the community down to the idea that dishonesty is honest. With such ethical confusion once introduced, what is to prevent it spreading until all moral distinctions are obliterated? We have been taught to believe that the producer has some kind of property right in the thing produced, and that what he earns he really owns, and that he cannot be deprived of this without being made the victim of a crime. Is this sound doctrine, or is it not? The wisest men say

that it is. Would not the triumph of socialism be the reverse of this judgment? In our opinion it would; for the sense of obligation and responsibility must be seriously diminished if we lose sight of the duties we owe to private property. If we were to set aside the teachings of the most enlightened nations on this subject, the sovereignty of obligation in general would decline, and it would soon come to pass that, as the rights of individuals in their possessions were disregarded, so the authority of elected superiors and officials would also be ignored. The disregard of the individual would grow into disregard for society. The sequence any one can portray, and we presume few persons will claim that it would present fewer miseries and less demoralization than confront us to-day.

Among other dire results it may safely be assumed that the degradation of women would be conspicuous. "The ownership of everything by everybody" would come to include humanity. Community of wives is not regarded by many socialists as an illogical deduction from community of property. Indeed, we are not left simply to imagine what would be the outcome of their principles were they really applied; for some of them have anticipated their workings with great precision, and with candor equally great have informed the world what kind of heaven they propose for women in the new era. Observe, we do not accuse *all* of them of entertaining pernicious sentiments on this subject,—only some,—but those who do, indicate the true drift of their system. This drift was expressed by Hasenclever, one of Lassalle's associates in the German Workingmen's Union, when he said:

In the communistic state, where the community bears the obligation of educating and maintaining the children, where no private capital subsists, but all instruments of production are common property, the woman need no longer, out of respect to her children, be legally chained to one man. The bond between the sexes will be simply a moral one, and then such a bond, if the characters did not harmonize, could be dissolved.

During the same meeting Jörissen substantially said that a maiden who disposed freely of her love was no prostitute—she was the free wife of the future. In the state of the future only love should direct the union of the sexes. Between the married wife and the so-called prostitute there is only a quantitive difference.[1] And Annie Besant, in the "National Reformer," June 4, 1876, gives the secularists' conception of marriage, which also reflects the belief of the better class of socialists. She writes:

It is perfectly true that marriage is different as regarded from the secularist and from the Christian point of view. The secularist reverences marriage, but he regards marriage as something far higher than a union "blessed" by a minister; he considers also that marriage should be terminable, like any other contract, when it fails in its object, and becomes injurious instead of beneficial; he does not despise human passion, or pretend that he has no body; on the contrary, reverencing nature, he regards physical union as perfecting the union of heart and mind, and sees in the complete unity of marriage the possibility of a far higher and nobler humanity than either man or woman can attain in a state of celibacy.

Not unexpectedly we find connected with these sentiments a deep and widespread antipathy to the super-

[1] See Jäger's "*Sozialismus*," as quoted by Dr. Woolsey.

natural. Christianity, especially historical Christianity, is usually derided and discarded by the uncompromising socialist. Schaeffle, certainly a competent witness, declares that "the socialism of to-day is through and through irreligious and hostile to the church." The same idea appears in Cabot's "Voyage in Icarie," where the most radical doctrines are promulgated. And Karl Marx writes that the German theory starts "with the decisive, positive abolition of religion," and adds :

> The *critique* of religion ends with the doctrine that man is the highest being for men ; and thus with the categorical imperative of overthrowing all relations in which man is a degraded, enslaved, forsaken, contemptible being : relations which one cannot better describe than by the exclamation of a Frenchman on occasion of a projected dog-tax : "Poor dogs ! they are going to treat you like men."

The communistic revolution in Paris, 1871, while accurately speaking not avowedly a revolt of those holding to the economic views which bear this name, was yet thoroughly imbued with their spirit and was thor oughly atheistic. Its leaders raged and swore against the Almighty, massacred priests, profaned churches, and did everything within the scope of devilish ingenuity to evince their contempt for all things sacred. Referring to the development of a kindred political party in Russia, Stepniak writes: "Absolute atheism is the sole inheritance that has been preserved intact by the new generation, and I need scarcely point out how much advantage the modern revolutionary movement has derived from it." Also, Dr. Draper, grouping together several radical classes of agitators, whose names differ,

but whose fundamental ideas are pretty much the same, has this to say of their faith, or rather of their no-faith:

> What is it that has given birth to the nihilist, the communist, the socialist? It is the total extinction of religious belief. With no spiritual prop to support them, no expectation of a hereafter in which the inequality of this life may be adjusted, angry at the cunningly devised net from which they have escaped, they have abandoned all hope of spiritual intervention in their behalf, and have undertaken to right their wrongs themselves.[1]

This godless tendency is evidently very strong. We do not assert that it is absolutely inseparable from socialism; for there have been those who have held firmly to its fundamental idea of mutualism, and mutualism regulated by law, and yet have been sincere worshipers of God. But the point we make is that when the people commit themselves unreservedly to its doctrines they are in danger of breaking away from spiritual realities. Influenced by extreme opinions concerning the cure of social inequalities, many of them become fanatical, and begin to think of the unapproachable sovereignty of Jehovah with suspicion and jealousy; and as they cannot elevate themselves to his greatness, nor drag him down to their littleness, they undertake to abolish belief in his existence. They discern upon his person the insignia of a monarch, and as they have sworn death to royalty, they would assassinate him—if they could. Happily for the world he is beyond their reach, or we would speedily have a murdered deity and a vacant throne. Yet by this blind craze we are persuaded that many are carried away, not so much through actual

[1] "Princeton Review," January, 1879.

viciousness, as through excessive devotion to an idea; just as the pefectionists of Oneida, though eminently pious, were betrayed into "complex marriages" through their singular notions regarding property. They advanced the extraordinary doctrine that there "is no intrinsic difference between property in persons and property in things; and that the same spirit which abolished exclusiveness in regard to money would abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it, exclusiveness in regard to women and children." [1] And just here culminates the utter failure of the scheme we are criticising. Whatever advantages may possibly spring from it, assuredly equality is not one. As we have seen, it cannot dispense with official rank and administration, also that it must pull down the industrious to lift up the idle, and that this equation is a positive injustice to the former class; and we have discovered that it tends toward the subjection of woman almost to the condition of a slave, thereby contemplating inequality in one of its most objectionable forms; and concludes by sweeping away every vestige of a faith through which the little of human brotherhood witnessed in the world has been realized. It works, therefore, rather against equality than in its favor. And for this reason, if for no other, the large majority of intelligent people must regard it as a political extravaganza, a piece of clamorous charlatanism, as impracticable as it is inconsistent.

While we are constrained to dismiss this proposed scheme of socialistic salvation in terms that are harsh-

[1] Nordhoff's "Communistic Societies of the United States," pp. 271, 272.

sounding, we are not indifferent to the benefits it has conferred. These may be comparatively slight in view of the evil tendencies it has developed; but such as they are, candor should acknowledge them. Its plea for more brotherhood in human relations, its assertion of equality, its demand for a fairer share of the blessings of earth, and its protest against the squalid animalism to which multitudes are doomed, are not without reason, and they have not been without effect. The endeavors of its advocates have roused the attention of serious and kindly people to the deplorable condition of the toiling poor, have led to measures of relief and to thoughtful discussions of the remedies best fitted to heal the gaping wounds of our times. In our condemnation of their mischievous recommendations, let us not be blind to what is sound and wholesome, and let us not overlook the services which they have performed. Every one should keep his eyes open to "the soul of good in evil things," and if he does, he will often see some evil even in the soul of good. The more familiar he becomes with the opinions of others, and the more he probes the merits of his own, the more he will, unless he is hopelessly obtuse or bigoted, incline toward modesty, forbearance, and charity. This generous and benignant temper cannot fail to promote a better understanding between rivals and factions, and must conduce to a rational settlement of many open and bitter ruptures which now disgrace community.

I have for years believed that socialism was educating the people, undesignedly of course, toward the ideal Social State, where fraternism shall rule, and where a more equal share in all the blessings of existence shall

be enjoyed than ever in the past, not by the force of government ownership of the appliances of industry, nor by its regulation of business details, neither by the abrogation of individuality, but by the uplifting of humanity into the fullness and completeness of the social life. Socialism has been contributing to this end; not, however, by its essential and distinctive principle, but by the hopes it has created, and by the efforts it has made to train working people in the arts of combination and of joint thought and associate action. Thus it will continue to educate, and as its scholars acquire the facility for such corporate endeavors and enterprises, they will be less disposed to invoke the aid of the commonwealth to do for them what they are able to do for themselves.

General Francis Walker seems to have had a foregleam of this eventuality, and hence in "The Forum" brought a strong article to a close with words which I quote here as expressive of my own conviction and confidence:

> For one, I have little fear of the red spectre which sears the eyeballs and crazes the brain of the statesmen of Russia and Germany. It is by no accidental coincidence that the freest nations of earth, the United States, Switzerland, England, Holland, and, though after a considerable interval, France, are those which are least afflicted by the socialistic agitation of the present age. It is not unlikely that industrial socialism will mingle with the revolutionary democracy, which is destined, in the immediate future, to try, as by fire, all privileges, institutions, and estates, in countries where prerogative has denied to the governed their just participation in government, and where the war system, which is the simple expression of the despair and abdication of statesmanship, rests with crushing weight upon the prostrate and bleeding masses.

But the fury of that fiery blast will have little power over those governments which are founded upon trust in the people, and whose laws and institutions have been framed, with however much of imperfection, in an honest purpose to subserve the general good.[1]

[1] "The Forum," May, 1887.

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATIONS AND CO-OPERATION

THE development of steam brought the old civilization to a disastrous close, and began the new with social disorder and dismay. Not until then was mediæval society really shaken to its foundations, and capitalism enthroned in the industrial world. Existing relations between peasant and peer, between tenant and landlord, between master and man, underwent a radical and almost an immediate revolution. Every class and every order for a while seemed to have lost its bearing; and it is not altogether wonderful if some classes are still at sea without knowledge of their whereabouts. Sufferings and hideous disabilities multiplied. Thousands of families, whose progenitors had for centuries been attached to the soil, were dispossessed of their little holdings; great factories were opened, which enslaved even very young children, working them from fourteen to seventeen hours a day; vast railroad systems were established, disturbing rural settlements, and deranging the established methods of trade; and the air was befouled with smoke charged with particles whose action on the human system was not understood.

To all the confusion and wretchedness incident to the upheaval must be added a widespread recourse to strong drink by the illiterate and hungry, who sought therein oblivion from the inexplicable terrors of modern progress. With the partial subsidence of the cataclysm,

and with the kindling of hope at the funeral pyre of the old social order, it was realized that petty crafts would, to a great extent, have to give place to gigantic manufacturing organizations; that the rapid means of locomotion would involve the employment of immense bodies of workmen; and the growth of cities, the extension of trade, and the increasing demands everywhere for improved sanitary conditions and for light and pure water, would necessitate the calling into play of some special facilities and instrumentalities.

Of this sore travail was begotten the modern type of industrial and commercial corporations. The changed aspect of public affairs, the extraordinary interests to be guarded and directed, and the strange, complex problems involved, seemed to transcend the grasp and power of individual endeavor, and to require the action of combined intelligence and capital. That some form of concert was indispensable, no one familiar with the facts will deny. It is, however, to be deplored that it took the shape it did, and that in meeting a manifest emergency it has entailed on this generation the economical evils engendered by "trusts" and "monopolies." That the agency of corporations should have been invoked was not strange, for it had descended to modern nations with the Roman law, where it is styled *collegium*, and more generally *universitas*, and in England for centuries had governed in eleemosynary, municipal, and ecclesiastical affairs. The application of the idea to trading companies was most natural, although, as is proven by its operations in this kind of association, it has been perverted by mercenary greed and transformed into an engine of social oppression.

A corporation, as the name denotes, is a body, and may be a monopoly, but not necessarily so, as it may have rivals. In several respects this body composed of individuals is treated by the law as if it were a person. It is distinguished from other societies by its capacity of perpetual succession, and consequently it is usually defined in law books as a society, "with perpetual succession and a common seal." [1] When its aims are purely commercial or industrial, that is, when it has been organized to earn money by these means, and restricts its profits to its own members and to its own shareholders, it at once discloses obnoxious features, which may become more and more repulsive and intolerable to the entire community. Some of these were graphically portrayed years ago in "Christian Thought," by the Rev. Samuel S. Harris, D. D., and a paragraph from his article, though somewhat long, will repay perusal:

The first of these is that the corporation is not a natural, but an artificial, agency, and that its design is to countervail or avoid the operation of certain great natural laws which, because they are natural, are presumably salutary. It is a natural law that the man who acquires capital shall administer it, his administration of it, and his responsibility for such administration, being of the essence of his proprietorship, and that such use of it should cease with his death. In other words, the natural law which operates to prevent the irresponsible use of capital, and the undue accumulation of it, is the law of personal responsibility for what a man has, and that it shall be distributed at his death. Now both of these natural provisions are avoided by the law of corporations. The corporation is a person that does not die. With accumulating resources and accumulating power it goes on in its way, defy-

[1] Abbott's "Digest of Corporation Law."

ing the law of death which arrests all personal enterprises. And not only in duration, but in range, its power is extended far beyond that of any individual or combination of individuals. The natural law is that a man may wield as much power in the shape of capital as he can gain by industry or inheritance. But here is an artificial person that is allowed to wield the power which a thousand or a hundred thousand men have gained, and to do this for an unlimited time, subject to no risk or chance of death or decrepitude. It is easy to see what an enormous advantage is given to capital as such by such an arrangement as this. And when to this is added the further consideration already alluded to, that this accumulated power is placed in virtually impersonal hands, that the natural proprietors and proper administrators of all this capital are emancipated by this legal device from their proper and personal responsibilities, transferring the administration of their wealth to official agents or overlookers, it is well seen that capital has been clothed by the State with exceptional privileges and enormous powers, which place the mere individual who attempts to compete with it at an immense disadvantage.

Dr. Harris has rightly said that the individual who attempts to compete with this soulless organism is at an immense disadvantage; and consequently it has been the prolific source of wretchedness to many people, and is so still. Mr. Godwin Moody has shown how difficult, and next to impossible, it is for the farmer to hold his own against the great corporation farms of the West. He sinks into beggary before their gigantic transactions; and one can easily picture his misery as he sees himself ruined, not by any fault of his own, but by an irresistible combination which has received its power from that government which he has supported, and from the administration which boasts that it saved the Union.

What is true of agricultural affairs is equally true of

every department of commerce. The unit in the long run, and frequently the "run" is very short, succumbs to the corporation. There are, of course, instances where one man is more fertile in resources, and is more successful than several men, however compactly they may be organized. But this is not usual. The rule as a general thing works the other way. These organizations usually carry everything before them, destroying the old-time sympathy between employer and employed, and impairing the independence as well as the fortune of the private citizen. They are accused, and we think with justice, of various devices to escape bearing their proportion of taxation, such as the making of inadequate returns of their property and business to the government; and it is alleged that in many instances they use their advantages to deceive the public, and by manipulations which will not bear honest scrutiny defraud the stockholders who have no direct share in the management.

Mr. W. T. Stead,[1] in a somewhat noted book, gives his impression of the tremendous and insulting mastery obtained by corporations over the people of these United States. He says:

> I have studied autocracy in Russia and theocracy in Rome, and I must say that nowhere, not even in Russia in the first years of the reaction occasioned by the murder of the late czar, have I struck more abject submission to a more soulless despotism, than that which prevails among masses of the so-called free American citizens, when they are face to face with the omnipotent power of corporations.

He continues:

[1] "If Christ Came to Chicago."

Wealth has subjugated everything. It has gagged the press, it has bought up the legislature, it has corrupted the judges. Even on the universities it is laying its golden fingers. The churches are in its grasp. Go where you will, up and down this country, you will find our citizens paralyzed by a sense of their own impotence. They know the injustice . . . they mutter curses, but they are too cowed to do anything. They have tried so often and been beaten so badly they have not the heart to try again.

Whether these dark colors are as appropriate to the representation of contemporaneous life in England, I do not know. Probably they are. But they are not altogether unfair or untrue to the condition of things prevailing among the descendants of the men who took up arms to resent a paltry tax on tea. Corporate power does inspire awe and cowardice in this land of freedom. Even the assessors stand in dread of the affluent members of corporations. Hence, horses owned by such magnates are at times valued by State officials at only twenty dollars, carriages at thirty dollars, pianos at one hundred dollars; and it is not uncommon for these gentlemen to migrate from cities before assessment day[1] in order to escape a reasonable tax on personal property. It is coming to be suspected, that if things go on as they are now going these favored parties will enjoy all the benefits of popular government, while the middle classes and the poor are left to defray its expenses. The terror inspired by these aggregations of capital is so extreme that even a poor clergyman, who ventures to reflect on the immaculateness of "trusts," though his reflections may be simple, pious commonplaces, will probably be declared by his agitated brethren to be

[1] Fiske, "Civil Government in United Italy."

afflicted with paresis or with some other mind-deranging malady. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" Ah, when such a pass as this is reached, and when government officials cringe before the men who are conspicuous in these combinations of capital, and when religious bodies shiver at a kindly word of admonition uttered by guileless lips on the subject of money-getting, there must be something radically wrong and economically pernicious in their method of doing business.

Half a century ago corporations were comparatively rare; but during recent years they have multiplied in so remarkable a degree that their name is "legion." They exist on every hand, and are devoted to almost every kind of business enterprise. Of late, however, they are becoming associated in groups for the furtherance of specific ends, so that now we not only have a practically endless series of separate corporations, but also corporations combining and acting as one. These unions are commonly called "trusts," as, for instance, the whisky trust, the sugar trust, and combines formed for the control of many other commodities. Very many of the necessaries of life are thus in the hands of a limited number of individuals, who determine prices, not by the action of some law of political economy, but by their own judgment as to how much they can, without very serious protest, extract from the pockets of a long-suffering public. An element of conspiracy is hardly ever absent from trusts. It may in most instances be negative, but it is just as effective, so far as results are concerned. As a recent writer has well said:

> There is nothing democratic about such vast monopolies for controlling those channels through which intelligence and traffic

are effected. Competition is crushed by its very weight, holding business men by the throat, and forcing them to deliver. They are despotic in spirit, tyrannical in method, openly hostile to liberty and free institutions, and threatening menaces to the pursuit of happiness, and to equality and equal opportunities under the law.

If small concerns are unwilling to join issues with some great combination, they are quietly undersold until they are driven out of the market. The individual merchant has really no rights the managers of trusts feel called on to respect. It is assumed that monopolies are an unquestioned good, that they exist by a kind of divine right, and that therefore all other interests must succumb to their welfare. To promote them it is not considered immoral to do many things which the individual members, let us hope, would blush to perform in private life, such as bribing officials, purchasing at a nominal value from unsuspecting women lands rich in ore, or depriving districts of country of their stores of natural gas by digging shafts at a remote point and exhausting the supply through wasteful combustion. The petty tricks committed to maintain these shameless combinations are proofs positive that they are, on the whole, pernicious, and that they are not justified by sound economic principles.

Monopolies have ever been odious to the Anglo-Saxon. In English history the term was originally employed to describe grants from the crown or from parliament, by which the sole control of some particular article was given to an individual as a reward for services rendered, or supposed to have been rendered, to the nation. Thus the dukes of Richmond, until within re-

cent years, were privileged to collect toll on every ton of coal brought from Wallsend to London. This was a very desirable monopoly, but the family has been persuaded to abandon it to the State for seven hundred thousand pounds. By what merit the first noble lord deserved such a grant we know not, unless it was being the illegitimate son of Charles II. Perhaps this fact accounts for the prolonged extension of the profitable franchise.

Sir Edward Coke has laid it down as a principle of ancient common law that the king can only confer a temporary monopoly. This decision has never been overruled. Queen Elizabeth carried the royal prerogative beyond all such limitations as this, and was so lavish with her favors that some of the necessaries of life were taxed in the interest of private parties. But after many agitations at different times, in 1623 a statute was enacted condemning monopolies, with the exception of those created by parliament, or designed to protect new inventions. Since then the nearest approach to an infringement of these provisions in England is found in the extraordinary franchise granted railroads, canals, and gas and water companies. These, however, are rapidly becoming distasteful to the nation. The old antipathy is reviving. And it is only reasonable that it should revive, for in modern times, at least, it is observable that in proportion as monopolies increase the demand for labor decreases, and that as the par value of their stock advances wages decline: and that even their reduction of prices on goods they produce does not equal the diminished purchasing power of what the toiler is able to earn. It is also manifest that their supremacy in the industrial world is rapidly creating a money class,

whose resources are so extraordinary that in a little while capital may be confined to a few hands, and result most disastrously to civilization. The trend of things recalls the ever memorable and pathetic words of President Lincoln on the close of the Civil War. These we do well to ponder, for in the light of the present they read like the prevision of an ancient seer:

> It has been indeed a trying hour for the Republic; but I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me, and causes me to tremble for the safety of our country. As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power will endeavor to prolong its reign by working on the prejudices of the people till all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxious for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of the war.

And Daniel Webster, before Lincoln's day, declared that "the freest government cannot long endure where the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of the few." There is no escaping the conclusion that this tendency is now whirling the nation onward toward the final and deadly plunge. Everything is planned by legislative bodies to favor trusts. Our representatives disclaim any disposition to discriminate against the people, and in campaign speeches occasionally indulge in rhetorical invective against monopolies. But all the same the monopolies flourish, and wealth concentrates itself in the coffers of the few. At present in the United States it is computed that one per cent. of the population own more than three-fifths of the wealth of the nation. And to-morrow—what? What proportion the next day? Who

can tell? While statistics fail us to cast a horoscope, we may easily foresee that the portents point to the worst possibly calamity to society—a nation beggared at the feet of pampered affluence. Can such a contingency be contemplated with anything like equanimity? Is it not dreadful enough to arouse solicitude, and to arm against its actualization in coming years? Nay, is it sufficiently serious to awaken the interest of those classes that presumably are in the line of promotion to these Midas heights of golden possessions? For there is no smooth path even for them. They too may be ruined by this very overwhelming success; and before they rejoice too loudly, and before they conclude to drive on over the broken fortunes of their fellows to the ownership of burdensome millions, it will be no disadvantage to them, but rather an advantage in every way, carefully to peruse the somewhat startling words of no less a thinker than Plato, the philosopher:

> What will be the manner of life among men who may be supposed to have their food and clothing provided for them, who have entrusted the practice of the arts to others, and whose husbandry, committed to slaves, brings them a sufficient return? . . To men whose lives are thus ordered, is there no work to be done necessary and fitting, but shall each of them live fattening like a beast? Such a life is neither just nor honorable; nor can he who lives it fail of meeting his due. And the due reward of the idle fatted beast is that he shall be torn in pieces by some other valiant beast, whose fatness is worn down by labors and toils.[1]

But what shall be done? Surely something should be attempted to avert such a catastrophe as this? Some sort of combinations are necessary to carry on

[1] "Laws," B. VII.

the business of modern life. These that have been criticised may possibly be remodeled and reformed, and may come to be really serviceable to the people. But reformation will prove difficult; and in some spheres of operation it is regarded as so impracticable, that municipal interference is looked on as affording the only adequate remedy. Indeed, there is a widespread and growing conviction that communal ownership and administration furnish the true solution of, at least, some of the graver problems created by the rapaciousness and ruthlessness of corporations. John Stuart Mill[1] recommends that the extensive undertakings to which individual resources are unequal, be assumed by the government, either national or municipal. Instances of the successful working of this plan are not lacking, and are frequently cited in its favor by its advocates. Unquestionably State control and superintendence of the postal service has been remarkably efficient; and in England the telegraphic system has been admirably administered by the authorities. In cities like Glasgow passenger transportation, managed by the civic fathers, has been successful.

Likewise the impression prevails on the continent of Europe that the termination of private ownership in railroads has benefited the people generally; and Professor Adolf Wagner, of Berlin, counts it as one of the good features which has resulted from the purchase of Prussian private railways by the State, that their stocks can no longer be used as formerly, merely for speculative, that is, gambling, purposes.[2] It must be conceded

[1] "Political Economy," Vol. II., Chap. XI., Sec. 11.

[2] "Social Aspects of Christianity," p. 22.

by those who are not enthusiastic for this arrangement, that it may confer various benefits on the community; and that it does not necessarily infringe on the rights and liberties of citizens; and that it is not to be classed with the communistic confiscation of private property, or with the communistic industrial programme. Telegraphs, railroads, especially street-cars, the gas and water supplies, as well as the postal service, may conceivably be completely under government direction and individualism remain intact, and all that is really worth preserving in the present order of things escape destruction. This much may be said in support of the scheme. Likewise, it must be admitted that in some cases it has more than fulfilled the expectations of its friends. But, nevertheless, we hesitate to be committed to it unreservedly. We dread being overgoverned. Moreover, all reports of the practical working of this expedient are not uniformly favorable to its efficiency. In Philadelphia, for instance, it is claimed that the private management of the gas supply is more satisfactory to the citizens, and less expensive than that of municipal control; and American travelers find much to be desired in the government administration of railways in Europe. It seems to be evident that this method is not necessarily an antidote to the evils from which the community seeks to be free, and that it is dependent, like other radical measures, on intelligence and integrity. In one locality circumstances may lend themselves to its complete vindication, while in another they may tend to overwhelm it with shame and confusion. We are therefore compelled to counsel care and caution. And we are strengthened in this

conservative course by what John Stuart Mill himself has written in the chapter already referred to; for while he there recommends what we cannot heartily approve, he very forcibly presents the objections which have largely contributed to the skepticism we have candidly avowed.

> The true reasons in favor of leaving voluntarily to associations all such things as they are competent to perform, would exist in equal strength if it were certain that the work itself would be as well or better done by public officers. These reasons have been already pointed out: the mischief of overloading the chief functionaries of government with demands on their attention, and diverting them from duties which they alone can discharge to objects which can be sufficiently well attained without them; the danger of unnecessarily swelling the direct power and indirect influence of government, and multiplying occasions of collision between its agents and private citizens; and the still greater inexpediency of concentrating in a dominant bureaucracy, all the skill and experience in the management of large interests, and all the power of organized action, existing in the community; a practice which keeps the citizens in a relation to the government like that of children to their guardians, and is a main cause of the inferior capacity for political life which has hitherto characterized the over-governed countries of the continent, whether with or without the forms of representative government.

Moreover, in confirmation of our suspicions relative to the advisability and value of the communal remedy, we have the following account of its action in France, taken from the "*Dictionnaire d'Economie Politique*":

> In France the initiative and direction of all these works (*i. e.*, harbors, internal navigations, roads, bridges, railways) belong to the central authority, acting by means of a numerous and expensive body, the engineers of roads and bridges ("*ingénieurs des ponts et chaussées*"). Most of the great channels of communica-

tion are established at the cost of the public, according to the schemes or designs of these engineering officials ; the schemes which are started independently of them are subjected to their control ; and it scarcely ever happens that such schemes are accepted by the authorities against their advice. The result of this *régime* is, that in respect of works of this character the spirit of enterprise is wholly discouraged, and that scarcely anything is accomplished except at the instance and by the impulse of the body of official engineers, an impulse which, for reasons which we have given under the title, "*Fonctionnaires*," is incomparably less powerful and less fertile than that of free industry. Thus, none of the great improvements in artificial channels of communication, or in means of transport, which have been introduced within the last fifty years, have originated in France—macadamization of roads, railroads, locomotives, suspension bridges, steamboats, etc., all are the work of the free and independent engineers of England or America. The monopoly of our official engineers is as little adapted to improve and utilize inventions as to start them. And although our country is one of those in which industry is most highly developed, and in which a multiplicity of the most perfect channels of communication—*e. g.*, of railways—is the most necessary, we have remained in this respect far behind the United States, England, Belgium, etc. A further result of the French system is that the channels of communication are distributed over the country without any real proportion to the wants of its several districts, and that their expense, instead of being supported, as in England, by tolls levied on those who use them, in proportion to the uses they make of them, falls, without reference to the service rendered, on all contributors alike.

From these extracts we gather that the plan advocated by Mr. Mill is not without serious drawbacks, and that the United States would better pause and deliberate before they commit themselves to its adoption.

It seems to us that some less drastic measures can be devised ; and that it must be possible to provide against the most flagrant evils of corporations, and prevent the

increase of monopolies, without rendering the country liable to the injury which is being wrought in France. Mr. David Dudley Field agrees with us in this opinion, and in a paper on the subject has made several important suggestions. We give our readers the benefit of his principal thought, and shall make it the introduction to some reflections in the same direction. He says:

> For our times and our wants wise and comprehensive legislation is needed. What it should be, this is not the place to discuss. The subject is too large for a single paper. But one thing is certain: the State should keep and exercise control over every corporate franchise. A franchise is a privilege that the possessor enjoys beyond the rest of the citizens. For that reason it should never be irrevocable. Equality of rights is the foundation of republican government, and whenever, for any reason, some out of the body of citizens are invested with peculiar privileges, these should be revocable at all times, saving such guarantees as the inviolability of property requires. In other words, it should be a cardinal maxim that there can be no private property in privilege. It is enough here to say that I think it possible to protect the rights of the State, and at the same time the rights of the citizen who has received the grant of a franchise and under it has invested his property.

We concur in this view; but in our judgment the recommendation does not go far enough. It is too conservative. As corporations are creatures of law, and as it is mischievous in various respects for one man, or a very few men, to own enough stock to make them monopolists and autocrats, we would have the State limit the amount that may legally be held by an individual. Suppose the limit prescribed were such that to render the organization a fact the shares would have to be widely distributed; then no person would be able,

without fraud, to obtain control of a sufficient number so as to "corner" the rest; and the concern could not be administered in the interest of, and for the benefit of, a selfish and conscienceless clique. It may be said that capital would not seek investment on any such terms. We are not so sure of that. Why should it not? It would be as safe as it is now, the difference being only that it would be unable to realize the enormous profits which are gained under the present loose system. But if millionaires stood back the people would not; and they would be glad to trust their savings to corporations which could never become the helpless prey of a few unscrupulous men. Moreover, it would be an advantage to the nation for the industrial classes to be represented in railroad, telegraph, and other great companies. Such representation would be fatal to the progress of socialism, and would go far toward creating a spirit of contentment. But in addition to this restriction, we would have the issuing and re-issuing of stocks and bonds under the direct surveillance of government; and we would have the robbing of the original shareholders, now so common, that a shrewd lot of manipulators may be enriched, a criminal proceeding punishable in the penitentiary.

In other words, instead of the State undertaking to carry out every vast enterprise which heretofore has been managed by combinations of citizens, let her see to it that such charters are granted to corporations as will prevent them ever becoming the private property of one or two wealthy schemers, and let her energetically compel them to fulfill the compact they have entered into. Then securities of almost every description,

usually regarded as too insecure for permanent investment, and which are treated now mainly as a convenient speculative medium, would be worth possessing. As it is, these printed bits of paper, valued on their face away up in the millions, have been so "doctored" and so tampered with that the people are suspicious of them, and knowing that "kings of the board" and "princes of the street," think it a fine thing to "scoop in the boys," they turn from them with fear and detestation.

Of course the legislation we propose would seriously interfere with the operations of the Stock Exchange. But this would be no real loss to the country. It would curtail gambling, and would force brokers to sell only what they really owned. This would be no grievous affliction, as it would neither impair prosperity nor diminish honesty. On the contrary, it would increase both. And, finally, the conditions we have defined would deprive gentlemen of the privilege of carrying railroad and telegraph systems in their pockets, and would deliver multitudes from being puppets in the hands of monopolists.

Mr. Field has favored the public with the statement of a theory touching the subject under consideration which we believe is far from visionary, and which very fittingly supplements what we have already quoted from his pen. This is what he proposes:

> Is there any reason why corporations created for profit that heretofore have been aggregations of capital only, should not be made aggregations of capital and labor, or, to speak more accurately, representatives of capital and labor? Let us suppose a manufacturing corporation to be formed with a view of giving to

all the persons employed an interest in the profits of the establishment. Divide the nominal capital into shares of small amount, some of them payable in labor to be contributed; give to the workman credit for a part of his wages, and pay him the rest for his daily living. Is this a wild scheme? Let us see.

The plan supposes a cash capital sufficient to plant and stock the establishment, and a credit capital, payable in labor, sufficient to work it. The difference between such a plan and the present is that the latter requires a capital payable in cash or its equivalent in other property; whereas the plan suggested requires also a credit capital payable in labor. As the business goes on now, the laborer has no interest in the capital; he works for wages fixed between him and his employer, upon a bargain in which there is no equality between the parties, in which one is to a greater or less degree in the power of the other, or at least stands in such a relation of dependence as is incompatible with that sense of self-respect, that pride of manhood, which should be the patrimony of every American citizen. Why may not the two be made to stand in the relation of equal dependence and mutual respect? Would not both be better off for the new relation? The capitalist shareholder would know that every blow of the workman was given in the interest of both, and the workman would know that every good bargain of the capitalist tended to the increase of his daily bread and the advancement of his family.[1]

Whether Mr. Field has given the best method for the carrying out of this scheme is open to question; but there can be no doubt that the thought expressed is of the highest value. The idea that "labor," which has mitigated the harshness of its lot by co-operation in its own ranks, should now gain benefits through the formation of an alliance with its old-time rival, "capital," is at once unique and full of promise. We believe in it; for we have seen that the divorce of these two mighty

[1] "North American Review," May, 1885.

factors in social progress has been a source of perpetual mischief. They who have been separated should be joined together. The hostile camps that have been frowning at each other this long while should be broken up, and the twin armies of civilization be merged and become one. Henceforth the co-operation, not of labor with labor only, or of capital with capital exclusively, but of labor with capital and of capital with labor, should be our aim.

When such co-operation as this is reached, then competition will be moderated and restrained without being destroyed; and then monopoly will be abolished without suspending the legitimate workings of corporations. And then the hopes of Mr. Mill, which he has stated with vigorous distinctness, will be in a fair way of fulfillment; for he tells us that he looks for the time to come when, in some way or other,

> Both private capitalists and associations will gradually find it necessary to make the entire body of laborers participants in profits. Eventually, and perhaps in a less remote future than may be supposed, we may, through the co-operative principle, see our way to a change in society which would combine the freedom and independence of the individual with the moral, intellectual, and economical advantages of aggregate production; and which, without violence or spoliation, or even any sudden disturbance of existing habits and expectations, would realize, at least in the industrial department, the best aspirations of the democratic spirit, by putting an end to the division of society into the industrious and the idle, and effacing all social distinctions but those fairly earned by personal services and exertions.

These teachings, now for some time past, have been growing in favor with thoughtful writers on sociological subjects; and they are entitled to more than a passing

allusion in this volume. Mainly through the personal influence of my honored friend, Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, than whom there is hardly a more venerable and picturesque figure in England, I have for several years cherished the opinion that co-operation would in the long run prove the chief agent in emancipating society from its thraldom to corporations. For this reason, if for no others, we ought to look a little more closely into a theory which is rapidly gaining adherents, and which is demonstrating its efficiency in various European centers.

Briefly defined, co-operation is a species of voluntary socialism; it is a form of mutualism which does not involve the suppression or the effacement of the individual. It is a whole that magnifies the parts. It is a combination of men that does not exact the sacrifice of the man. It is essentially the application of republicanism to labor, and means the termination of chattel industry which has become almost as insupportable as chattel slavery. Mr. Holyoake speaks of it as "a new force in industry, which obtains competency without mendicancy, and gives equal rewards by equalizing fortunes." He also quotes Lord Derby as saying:[1] "It seeks improvement by self-effort. That is one great merit; and it asks nothing of the State—that is another." And he further explains by discriminating in this way:[2]

> Three organized forces contend in this country for the rights of labor and competent incomes for working people: Trade Unionists, Socialists, and Co-operators. Trade Unionists seek to raise wages by strikes; Socialists at the cost or outlay of State funds;

[1] "Jubilee History of Leeds Co-operative Society."

[2] "Self-Help a Hundred Years Ago."

Co-operators help themselves by commercial and industrial associations, neither making war on capitalists, nor supplicating aid from the State. This last-named movement, the manlier and more English form of self-help, is but one of the singular and versatile suggestions put forward by prelates, peers, and gentlemen a century ago.

And why had these distinguished persons at least dim vision of its value to the world? Is it not likely that they recalled some of the glorious, prophetic teachings concerning a blessed era of purity, peace, and prosperity, and realized the absolute futility of such expectations under the economic conditions prevailing in their day? As soon as the idea of an industrial brotherhood was suggested, how natural must it have been for them to lay hold on it as the only way of deliverance from the then existing muddle? And, as we infer, they discerned the connection between such a brotherhood and the millennium, so we and many others are drawn to it, as it accords with the fundamental principle of the coming Social State, and furnishes the true basis for the ordering and unfolding of its various temporal interests.

Miss Frances Willard, in the closing days of her life, said to her faithful secretary: "Only the golden rule of Christ can bring in the golden age of man." Now, co-operation is the practical application of the golden rule to labor, and, indeed, to trade and commerce of every kind; and when it is intelligently and honestly practised the Social State cannot fail to culminate in the golden age.

When Mr. Holyoake visited America, while lecturing in New York he gave the following striking exposition

of the doctrine he has advocated through so many vicissitudes:

Co-operation is often likened to two hounds who unite in catching hares, and thus secure more than they could separately. There is this difference between co-operation and hare hunting: The hound catches the hares for the hunter; we catch the hares with the intention of eating them ourselves. Co-operation means this: A number of persons join together for the purpose, by acts of economy, concert, and good-will, of obtaining certain advantages, and of dividing the results among themselves, each taking a share proportionate to the industry and capital he has applied in helping out the scheme. There are three ways in which co-operation is applied—by stores, by workshops, and by banks. In France they excel in co-operation in the workshop, in Germany in the bank, and in England in the store, while in America they excel in none of the three. You are too rich to care about humble gain, and you are so well informed that it is impossible to add to your stock of social information.

An unknown writer in the "London Quarterly Review" relates a conversation he had with a member of the Parisian Commune, who spoke of the aims and inspiration of its leaders in the following terms:

The artisans and poorer classes of France—*i. e.*, of Paris and the great towns, are ground down (*exploité*) by the capitalists, their employers; they wish to reap the fruits of their own labor; they wish, in fact, to work for their own benefit and not for that of others; they think that all capital ought to belong to the State, and be lent out on moderate interest to associations of operatives, who would thus enter into the full enjoyment of the products of their own industry. They believe that only a republic, of which the working classes should be the directors, would give them this result; and they know that a republic of this sort can only be established by a revolution, and therefore they are willing to hazard everything and upset everything in the cause of such a revolution.

But all this can be accomplished without troubling and burdening the State, without overthrowing administrations, or engaging in sanguinary strife. Any body of workmen who can lay by money and club together, or can obtain credit, may start in business for themselves, and it is surely not worth while to upset the ruling powers for the sake of trying a similar experiment on a larger scale, and with many perils threatening failure in the way. While it is substantially the same in principle with the communist's plan, we believe that co-operation, voluntary and private, is infinitely of more value to the nation. Wherever these partnerships are successful they do good in various ways. They teach and train the working classes in the management of business, impart ideas of its difficulties and its drawbacks. Moreover, they promote forethought in the operative, and generally add to his income; for by becoming employer and virtually capitalist he reaps a fair share of the capitalist's gain. As an able writer in the "Arena" [1] says:

> We all know how much energy it adds to a man if he owns the business or comes to be a partner in it. When the Pillsbury Flour Mills, of Minneapolis, gave their men a share in the profits, the energy, care, and economy of the men so greatly increased that, after subtracting the forty thousand dollars of profit that went to the men (an average of four hundred dollars to a man, or thirty-three per cent. on their wages for the year), the part of the profits that went to the firm was more than the total profit it had had by the old pure wage system. That was also the experience of the Le Clair shops, in Paris, and it is always the case where profit sharing or co-operation is thoroughly tried under true conditions, as any one may see who will consult W. P. Gilman's history of "Profit

[1] "Arena," May, 1894.

Sharing." The men work with more spirit and diligence; they do not stop the moment the bell rings, nor wait for its stroke to begin; they economize; they take better care of materials; they do the best work they know how, for the firm's reputation is of moment to them. They watch each other; shirking and drunkenness become impossible, for the men say to each offender: "Look here, you must stop. You are spoiling our profits." And drunkenness ceases where sharing of profits is carried out. Superintendence also becomes unnecessary; the men superintend themselves and each other. At a minimum estimate we lose half the power inherent in the wage-earning masses. If all were well fed, well educated to bring out their talent, ingenuity, and skill, to perfect their character and keep them from bad habits and disease, comfortable, hopeful, happy partners in the business of the world, the efficiency of labor would be doubled at the least; so we lose twenty billions a year on this count.

And then, as Professor Ely testifies:

This plan would give to the masses the largest economic welfare that could be attained, for with labor and capital thus united the entire product of industry would accrue to the laboring classes. It would involve an intellectual and ethical training, and would lift up the entire level of society, beginning with the lowest social stratum.

Now there is no reason why this improved condition should not become common. If English workmen would only moderate their drink and tobacco bills, in a few years they could save five hundred pounds each, and ten of them combining would have five thousand pounds capital, and they would have another five thousand pounds in credit due to their character, that is, to their temperance and frugality. And all this is as possible to the American as to the Englishman. Neither is there any reason why workmen, as their education im-

proves and their habits mend, as they learn to govern themselves and to confide in each other, should not combine for the majority of industrial occupations without a master, and in fact, be their own employers and select their own overseers. Dr. Lyman Abbott in the "Century" has a right to reprove the mechanics and laborers of our country for their reluctance to thus unite for business and profit, while they are ready to combine for every other conceivable purpose, especially to strike for higher wages. And we perhaps cannot do better than to quote his own earnest words, which show how through co-operation all may be helped. He says:

> You combine only that you may not work. In one summer's telegraphic strike you spent four hundred thousand dollars for the right to be idle. Why did you not expend it for the right to be independent? Half a million dollars, plus all the best telegraphic talent in the United States, with the sympathies of the nation as a reserve, combined to establish postal telegraphy, might have given you success instead of failure. Strike, not for better wages in servitude, but for independence. Organize, not to be idle, but to be busy. Combine, not against your employers, but that you may employ yourselves. You battle not for the rights of labor, but for the right not to labor; it is a barren, fruitless right, not worth fighting for. Victory is as bad as defeat. For combination put co-operation; for few hours and fair wages put independence; for a right to be idle put power to work. Make yourselves capitalists, combine your capital with your industry, and add to it by your credit, and so become your own masters.

Very few of the toiling masses ever reflect on these things, very few know their own power, or regard such suggestions as practicable. Yet they are; they have been tried over and over again with success, and they only need a general and earnest adoption for a silent,

bloodless revolution to be wrought, and for all classes to be brought together in closer relations and on more friendly terms than is common to-day.

Something of the process and promise of these associations Mr. Holyoake has presented, and it may be well to confirm our hopes by what he has written. His words are :

Co-operation means that many persons contribute separately and individually to one end, and that end is the creation of new capital, which each person contributing shall share. All are in earnest ; all do their best ; each one works, and each one carries away his full share of the profits. Co-operation makes profit by economy.

In forming a co-operative store in England, a few persons assemble and explain to those who don't know it already, that it is desirable for them to band together to secure purity of the goods which they buy, fairness in weighing and measuring, avoidance of anxiety about being poisoned or cheated, and the creation of new capital. They each contribute a small amount of money to start the store, it being desirable to start in a small way at first, and with as many subscribers as possible. None of the money is begged or borrowed or received as a gift. A small, cheap place is taken, and service is voluntary in the new store at first. The subscribers find that the more they trade at the new store the greater are the profits, so they all become propagandists to get new purchasers and subscribers. There is therefore no need of expense for advertising. The average profits are ten per cent. Of this, five per cent. is given to the purchasers according to the amount each one purchases. A part of the profit is set aside for rent, another part for a rainy day, and two and a half per cent. for an educational fund for the members of the association. In Leeds the Association has eighteen thousand buyers, in Halifax twelve thousand, and in Rochdale still more. In Rochdale the store makes a profit of fifty thousand pounds a year. It would be considered a grand and noble deed if a rich man should give to the workingmen of a city two hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year. But

is it not nobler and grander for the workingmen to give to themselves? In Manchester the store gave its members a profit of twenty-one thousand pounds and set aside three hundred pounds for persons who were not members, six hundred pounds for education, six hundred pounds for the servants of the association, four hundred pounds for a reserve fund, and sums ranging from five to ten guineas for different charitable purposes.[1]

These figures are inspiring, and fully bear out the expectations we have expressed. And though the co-operative system in America has not been so prominent as in England, and has likewise suffered from incompetence and even dishonesty, its record is far from discouraging. We hear of a New Bedford store of this kind making in 1849 a total sale of thirty-one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine dollars and sixty-four cents, which compares very favorably with some English houses. There were several co-operative divisions in New England in 1851, and they sold in that year six hundred and nineteen thousand six hundred and thirty-three dollars and sixteen cents; and in 1852 one hundred and sixty-five divisions received from purchasers, one million six hundred and ninety-six thousand, eight hundred and twenty-five dollars and forty-six cents. The profits from the Natick store are about three dollars and sixty cents on every ten-dollar share, a proof that investments in such establishments yield a large dividend. The president of the National Council, speaking in Syracuse, March, 1877, said:

Ninety-four councils, selected from the whole, report a membership of seven thousand two hundred and seventy-three, and with an average capital of only eight hundred and eighty-four dollars,

[1] Rev. Heber Newton, "North American Review," May, 1885.

did a business last year of one million eighty-nine thousand three hundred and seventy-two dollars and fifty-five cents. This was equal to a saving of twenty-one dollars to every man and woman belonging to these councils. It is safe to assume that the unreported sales will swell the amount to at least three million dollars, which, at the same ratio of profit as above reported, would make a saving of four hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

So, also, the Raritan Woolen Mills Co-operative Association sold in 1880 ninety-five thousand eight hundred and twenty-one dollars and thirty-nine cents of goods and returned a large profit to the shareholders. These instances, and many more that could be cited, prove Mr. Barnard to be in the wrong when he asserts that "in this country distributive co-operation has been marked by almost utter failure." This is not the case, though we admit it has not been so successful as it should have been. The mind of the people has been so frequently distracted by political remedies, remedies requiring no particular sacrifice of ease and no special exercise of thought, that it has never vigorously grasped the co-operative method, and never fully realized that it can do all that government can, and that too without intrenching on the independence of the citizen. To-day we believe that a change is taking place in the public estimation of this subject. We sincerely trust it may continue. If it shall, and if we can be persuaded generally to employ this "new industrial force," then the wretched extremes of want and despair will gradually disappear, and something more like brotherhood in fortune and in hope will prevail.

What is especially needed at this time is a more thorough understanding of the method itself. Many

persons look upon it as an admirable scheme for the cheapening of useful articles, but they are far from appreciating its real value in the manufacturing world. They do not clearly comprehend its scope, or the extent of its availability. At the risk, therefore, of being prolix, and of seeming to repeat some things already said, we would remind our readers that the co-operative principle is applicable, not only to distribution, but to production as well. We, indeed, are compelled to carry it yet further; for with our views of reciprocal responsibility, we recognize an obligation resting on the buyer. He has a duty to perform in the new comity between labor and capital. The combination is really not of two only, but of three. He who purchases is more intimately related to the man who makes and the man who sells than he ordinarily acknowledges. Usually he regards his interests as opposed to theirs, and he is generally intent on cheapening their wares for his own advantage. But economically, as well as morally, he is in error, as can easily be demonstrated. To make this plain, and to point out what it involves, I must add a third classification to the two commonly employed when defining co-operation. Adopting this three-fold division we shall have

(*a*) Co-operative production.

(*b*) Co-operative distribution.

(*c*) Co-operative consumption.

A little statistical information will satisfy the most skeptical, unless he is unreasonably biased, that business conducted under the two branches first named, compares both in volume and profits with anything done in the same lines by corporations and trusts. Such com-

parisons, to be fair, must make allowances for the differences in the amount of capital employed, and for the advantages arising to the older system from its being the one in vogue, and grounded in the habits of the people. But when these drawbacks are taken into account, it will be seen from available figures that the co-operative principle is as effective in production and distribution as any other. That it has nothing to lose by being placed in juxtaposition with its rivals the latest report of the "*Alliance Coopérative Internationale*" abundantly establishes. The documents[1] issued by this society will repay the inquirer for the time given to their study, and will leave the impression on his mind that they are an evangel of deliverance from the grinding curse of modern capitalism. Taking an example from only one nation out of the many represented at Paris, or later at Delft, we shall gain a very just idea of the immense and growing proportions of what may be termed industrial fraternism. We select England, for various reasons, but chiefly because her people and our own have so much in common, and ought to have more; and because what has proven practicable to them we know must be equally so to ourselves. It might be otherwise with schemes advocated exclusively by Frenchmen, or Germans, or Spaniards, but in the case of Englishmen, what their common sense approves and renders successful appeals in a peculiar way to Americans. On this subject, perhaps no one is better qualified to speak with authority than Mr. Hodgson Pratt, the very Prince Rupert of the labor cause. Speaking at Sydenham, August 18, 1896, he inspired the greatest

[1] "*Deuxième Congrès*," Paris, 1897.

enthusiasm by his citation of figures in support of the co-operative movement. While ethics should govern in economics, economics have much to do in advancing or retarding ethics, and consequently they come to occupy a foremost place in the consideration of every sociological theory. This has been made perfectly transparent by Professor Thorold Rogers, of Oxford;[1] and, therefore, Mr. Pratt was fully justified in laying the stress that he did on the economic value of the system he expounded and advocated. In one part of his address he spoke as follows:

> The working classes of Great Britain inaugurated their own redemption by organizing their own consumption; and by keeping the profits of that trade in the primary necessaries of life in their own pockets. Their success in co-operative, distributive, or in consumers' stores, had been marvelous. It was an unparalleled instance of the power of wise organization carried on by working men. The one thousand seven hundred societies had a million and a quarter members, an annual trade of forty million pounds, and a profit for themselves of five million pounds. This form of association had enabled thousands of men to save who were never before able to accumulate anything for old age; and they had done it without the least difficulty, many of them being enabled thereby to purchase their own dwellings from the profits. Nevertheless, from the very nature of the case, distributive co-operation could not do more than this. It could not change the deplorable relations of capital and labor, the two great factors of industrial production. The capitalist always tried to get as much work out of the workers for as small a wage as the latter could be induced to take; and the worker was always trying to get as much wage as he could induce, through his trades union, the capitalist to give.

This naturally led him to discuss the feasibility of co-operative production, the alleged weak spot of the

[1] "The Economic Interpretation of History."

whole system, and the need of which he had made perfectly clear. He maintained that there were no difficulties in its way which could not be overcome; and he gave encouraging facts in support of his optimistic confidence. He stated that productive societies had increased in England from fifteen to one hundred and and fifty-five during twelve years; to which he added that the sales had grown from one hundred and three thousand four hundred and fifty-six pounds per annum to nine hundred and fifteen thousand three hundred and two pounds; the profits from nine thousand and thirty-one pounds to ninety-four thousand three hundred and five pounds; and the profits to labor from nothing to fourteen thousand two hundred and thirty-five pounds, these last figures being for 1895. In fact, the increase had been ten-fold. The advance accomplished, comparing 1895 with 1894, had been: Sales, thirty-six per cent.; net profits, forty per cent.; profit to labor, sixty-two per cent.

The history of co-operative productive societies was full of interest; it was a history of success obtained by faith in a great moral as well as a great economic principle, by a splendid struggle against prejudices, and in some cases, against determined opposition. The Wallsall Padlock Society, established fourteen years back, began with a capital of eighty-three pounds, which had grown to about six thousand pounds. It sent its goods to various parts of the world, and had a trade of fourteen thousand pounds.

The Hebden Bridge Fustian Works affords a striking example of high aims and successful work. That society began with threepenny subscriptions and a capital of eighty-three pounds; it had now a trade of fifteen thousand pounds. Professor Marshall, in his "Economics of Industry," referred to the growing complexity and magnitude of modern enterprise, and asked whether under the system of which we speak all industrial undertakings

could be carried out. He (Mr. Pratt) did not believe in the existence of a special caste of industrial Brahmins, with a monopoly of knowledge and capacity. Such a supposition was at variance with the fact that the founders of nearly all the greatest firms and enterprises were men who rose from the ranks, through special gifts. They were men who had no advantages of education or association with the higher ranks of society. Professor Marshall pointed out that the sons of these men, brought up with every advantage, were not successful in carrying on the business. Now, who were most able to carry on these enterprises? Joint-stock companies, where the shareholders were absolutely ignorant of everything, and where the directors were too often only titled guinea-pigs; or, workmen's societies, where every man at work had most detailed knowledge and an opportunity, if he had such special gifts as created great firms, of rising to be a manager?

This statement is in every way admirable, and suffices to answer the whisperings, not uncommon in America, that co-operationists would confide the great industrial interests of the country to incompetent hands. Such is not the case. And the fact is, under existing arrangements they are not infrequently in the care of just such incapables. Multitudes who own stock in mines, mills, and various manufactories, have no knowledge of the business in which they have invested. They have become shareholders because of the alluring dividends promised, possibly by speculators who have as little expert information as themselves. The representatives they elect will be chosen, as a rule, on account of their stock, and not necessarily on account of their ability. While these directors will undoubtedly try to secure the services of a superintendent who understands the business, and while they are frequently successful, it does not really change the situation in any marked degree. It yet remains true that the majority of the

partners have only a money interest in the concern. They are not able to advise or guide when questions arise touching the quality of the fabrics produced, or when the quantity of the production must be determined. But were the shares in the industry held by the men and women who understood its details, and whose livelihood depended on its growth and success, it would have the advantages arising from this increased intelligence in the management of its affairs. Such persons would choose only master-workers to be their chiefs and overseers, and every branch of the business would be in the hands of those technically qualified to render it effective. Consequently, instead of production suffering materially from a change of method, it would probably improve; and at least we have no reason for supposing that it would deteriorate. I may be over-sanguine, but believing that direct personal responsibility for any work generally leads to greater care in its production, I can but cherish the opinion that the relation of artisans through co-operation to the output of goods from various manufacturies would tend to improve their quality, and would gradually put an end to the disgraceful prevalence of shoddy and brummagem in the world's markets.

And unquestionably it would yet further conduce to this desirable change if consumers were only to combine on behalf of thoroughness, cleanliness, and honesty. Some attention has been bestowed of late on this form of social obligation, but it must be confessed that it has not received the consideration its importance deserves. The story is told in England of a young lady, affluent, cultured, beautiful, and a brilliant member of the aris-

tocracy, who was prostrated by a strange malady, which in a short period ended her life, and for which at the first no reasonable explanation could be given. Inquiries were instituted, as the case was one of peculiar sadness, and it was finally discovered that the disease had been transmitted through the infection of a riding habit, the making of which had been entrusted by some middleman to very poor people, who dwelt where the sanitary conditions were pernicious. It was learned that the head of the family taking in the work experienced one day a sudden chill, followed by fever, and that his wife in the emergency cast over the trembling form of her husband the partly completed skirt of the riding habit. The explanation of the young lady's death was furnished as soon as the poor sewing woman related this incident. Another melancholy object-lesson is supplied to society from the Nessus shirts which the methods of sweaters are constantly preparing to plague the indifferent consumer. We say "another" advisedly, because numerous cases could be cited to show that both in Europe and America the deadly scourge of the sweaters' inhumanity is multiplying victims. How could it be otherwise? Investigations have been made, stimulated in part by philanthropy, and in part by alarm, and these have brought to light a state of affairs calculated to arouse the greatest solicitude on behalf of the public health, to say nothing of the public morals.

"The New York Herald" has made searching inquiries into the circumstances which prevail where many of the goods are prepared for the general markets. We give just a glimpse of some of the horrors reported. The writer in the "Herald" says:

In the lower portion of the great east side of this city are hundreds of tall, ill-appearing tenement houses in which thousands of half-starved, sunken-eyed men and women are crowded into small, foul, over-heated rooms, working day and night for just enough to keep body and soul together. Scattered among the workers are dirty children, and sometimes cats and dogs. Everything in these places has to stand aside for work. It is work, work, work, day and night, year in and year out. In these over-crowded rooms the air is poisoned with the heat from the stoves, the steam from the cooking, and the fumes of oil and gas. Very few of the toilers can speak English. They are the most wretched-looking, miserably-paid class of workers in America. They are foreigners, and come chiefly from Russia and Poland. No sunshine enters into their lives. Their existence is one hard, deep, grinding toil. They have no hope of brighter days to come. As they have worked for years, so they expect to work in the future. But the sweater does not care. He has his contracts with the manufacturers. Every day great bundles of clothing are dumped into these dens, and then the slaves are driven at full speed to make them up. Competition is keen, but the sweater makes money.

The colors of this picture are dark and forbidding; and yet they are deepened by the shadows which are added by the Journeymen Tailors' National Union. The members of this body have labored diligently and faithfully to enlighten the public on the real conditions under which much of the clothing worn by the people is made. We give this and the following excerpt from the pages of "The White Slaves," by Rev. Louis Albert Banks. He collected them and they have been scrutinized by critics, and their trustworthiness has not been challenged. One passage he quotes from the "Tailors' Journal,"[1] and it consists of a graphic though grim account of a sweat-shop:

[1] "White Slaves," pp. 92, 93.

This place was simply indescribable in its filthiness. The only household furniture discernible (for the contractor and his family lived in the rooms), were a bedstead and a child's crib in one of the two dark, so-called, bedrooms. Bedding and overcoats were piled up together. The floors were four inches deep with dirt and cotton battings and scraps of linings. The ceilings and woodwork looked as though they had not seen the brush since the house was built, years ago. Water from the floor above had leaked through the ceiling, but it seemed to make no difference. One stove was used by the pressers and the cook. It did not appear that there was any regular meal hour. There was a table littered with dirty dishes, morsels of food, and scraps of coats. One man was seated, eating out of a dish with his fingers without the aid of spoon, knife, or fork. As soon as he had finished he merely wiped his hands on some cotton batting, and proceeded with his work. The poor creatures were haggard and apparently stupid.

And commenting on these facts, a distinguished doctor declares that

The dust, filth, and dirt accumulated in the "sweating dens" he had visited and examined, contain the germs of the prevailing infectious diseases, such as diphtheria, scarlatina, measles, erysipelas, and smallpox, and that the clothing manufactured in these shops is impregnated with such germs, and consequently may transmit and spread the aforesaid diseases to persons who handle and wear it.

But is this all? This is bad enough, but there is another side equally repugnant to every human instinct. While diseases are generated in these sinks of squalor and of suffering, which sweep over an apathetic community, their unhappy denizens are sinking lower and lower in the mire and filth of their dilapidated environments. What can they do? where go for relief from the horrors of their lot? Do you blame them for seeking momentary surcease from sorrow in the rum-shop,

and some renewal of interest in mundane monotonies from delirious stimulants? It is not uncommon for unctuous success to spread its fat hands over its jeweled bosom, and to denounce the working classes, especially such as are doomed to these social galleys, for the wicked waste of their earnings on strong drink. As a preacher I likewise deplore this infatuation; as a publicist, I condemn it; but as a man, placed in these hope-crushing circumstances, where self-respect is hourly outraged, I wonder how long even the preacher and the publicist would resist temptation. Who among our reputable gentry can be quite sure, were he placed in this deplorable position, that he, or even she, would refrain from courting oblivion in the depths of some alcoholic spring? Only he who has passed through the sweaters' hell without sin is entitled to cast the "first stone" against his less vigorous and virtuous brethren. We at least have only unspeakable sympathies for these melancholy ghosts of men and women who toil mechanically and without heart, and who look toward the grave with a degree of resignation hardly understood by the prosperous classes. And if they avail themselves of a few minutes of freedom to seek some means of shaking off their numbness, and of awakening in themselves a consciousness of former life, while we can but be sorrowful that they abandon themselves to the illusions of intoxication, we need not be surprised at their course.

And taking into consideration that they are human beings, we should not be amazed if they occasionally chafe at their chains, and mutter incoherently of vengeance, and are ready when the hour comes to follow any fanatic who promises deliverance. Neither should

we wonder that they succumb to the blackness of their lot, gradually lose sight of decency, and sink lower and lower to the level of animalism. This is the inevitable result of the sweating system. It continually breeds vice; it is prolific in immorality; and mark, the apathetic public, the public hungry for bargains and that makes a god of cheapness, has to pay the bill incurred by these departures from virtue. The consumer with a lofty air, as though the last word had been spoken on the subject, insists that he has no right to interfere with the business of others, and that he should have his goods on the lowest possible terms; and he fails to see that what he declines to pay the workman he has to pay the government, and that the less he pays for wearing apparel and other necessities the more he has to pay for charities, for hospitals, and for taxes to support additional policemen, prisons, and asylums. There is need surely for a revised plan of economics. Evidently the money spent does not always go to the right parties. The consumer is not really saving anything. He is only, through his carelessness or bungling, letting his means go toward remedies when he should be devoting them to preventives. But he is hardly a penny in pocket. We begin to see that he too has a responsibility. At present he is in unacknowledged partnership with sweaters and other oppressors, who are plundering labor and degrading the laborer. Unless he wakes up and reforms, the curses of the agonizing multitude will cling to him forever. He must take his stand; and the first thing he must demand is that the sweating-shop and all unwholesome conditions of toil shall be abolished. This immediately and imperatively, for the longer

he reflects the more clearly will he see through all the heavy mists which darken the social horizon the justice of what Sidney Webb, of England, has recorded as his own unalterable conviction :

> If I had to name one great factor in the continued industrial degradation of large sections of the community who remain in the trough of destitution, I should not hesitate to place first the demoralizing effects of what is called the sweating system, or more precisely, home work. Home work it is, with all its insidious demoralization, that keeps down the earnings of East London, of the down-trodden Sheffield trades, of the miserably paid workers in the back country, of women-workers everywhere. Not until we can thoroughly eradicate the remnants of this system from our midst can we hope to level up its unfortunate victims to the high standard of life which has been given to their more fortunate brethren by the machine industry and the world-commerce.

Recent writers, like Hobson,[1] Ely,[2] Davenport,[3] and Smart,[4] of Scotland, have treated with more or less completeness that branch of "economics" which may be termed, "the ethics of expenditure." They agree in teaching that the "final direction of industry lies with the consumers," and that they determine the conditions under which goods are produced. Of old it used to be said that "the demand governs the supply." But then the rule applied simply to the amount. It is now extended to the quality as well. If the public shall refuse to purchase articles which are made at the cost of health, purity, and integrity, as the buyer is naturally the master of the seller, such articles must disappear from the market. This ultimate control is emphasized

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[1] "Evolution of Capitalism." [2] "Harmful Consumption."
[3] "Economic Theory." [4] "Economic Studies."

by Prof. W. J. Ashley in a few clear sentences worth quoting:

> Nothing is more characteristic of the best economic thought of the last two or three decades than the attention given to the subject of consumption. The writer who has done most, since John Stuart Mill, to bring about a fresh examination of industrial forces, viz., Jevons, has made men realize that it is in the phenomena of consumption that we must seek the key to the whole economic problem, even as a matter of pure science. And the leading economists of to-day all lay emphatic stress both on the influence of consumption upon production, and upon the moral duties which this involves for society and the individual.

What, then, are these duties? How can they be fulfilled? In what way shall they be discharged? Probably with great unanimity it will be agreed that the government should interfere to prevent unsanitary conditions, and to interpose on behalf of those who are exposed to the iniquitous barbarity of the sweater. We see no reason to dissent from this *plébiscite*. Responsibilities undoubtedly do attach to the authorities, and various commonwealths, like Massachusetts, are not indifferent to their gravity. But it should never be forgotten that the ethical character of legislation will always be determined by the moral tone of public opinion. Wholesome laws will rarely be enacted unless demanded by the social conscience; and if enacted will generally fail of enforcement unless the social conscience upholds them. Society, therefore, must cooperate with the State, the citizen with the magistrate, if permanent benefits are to be derived from government interference.

And here the special function of the church finds

scope and opportunity. It is her business to cultivate the necessary public opinion. From every pulpit throughout the land should the protest go forth, and that too, with no uncertain sound, against the degradation of labor and laborer. Christ's witnesses in the past have withstood the lions and the tigers loosed on them in imperial amphitheatres. Are they now unable to endure the snarling and biting of the wild beasts of modern capitalism? Is not much of their so-called warfare in modern times an idle farce? They contend with each other about doctrinal formulas which have no more meaning to the outside world than so many Egyptian hieroglyphics, and hardly more to themselves; or they are intent on their own improvement in literature and art, and wrestle with critical questions which are of no present practical value to any one; or they enter the arena against social vices, which ought to be condemned, which most of their parishioners condemn, and which call for no particular heroism to denounce behind pulpit fortifications. Let the leaders of religion join hands with men like the late General Francis Walker of this city, and with Professor Marshall of England, in proclaiming the great truth that the community of consumers has power to elevate the community of producers and to improve its productions, and then the hands of the State will be strengthened by an enlightened public sentiment. Clergymen cannot expect to be effective in this direction without experiencing the shock of opposition, the antagonism of sweaters, and the criticism of some among their own members who will straightway see in their preaching covert attacks against the rights of property. But why

should they be discouraged? A sailor expects to encounter storms, a soldier battles, and both are of little value to their professions apart from these seasons of struggle. Why should ministers of the gospel expect to be exempt from strife and warfare? This is part of their heritage. Its possibility should rather stimulate than depress them. Let them, then, address themselves to the quickening and guidance of the social conscience. Let them press home the obligation of treating humanity, as Kant inculcated, never as a thing and always as a person. They should emphatically denounce every method of industry that sacrifices the artisan to the greed of cheapness on the part of the purchaser. They should encourage the people to combine to protect themselves against what Kingsley called "cheap and nasty" goods; and they should make clear to the humblest understanding the philosophy embodied in the following teachings of recent sociology:

> No utilization of waste gases in the blast furnace can compare with the triumph of making work for the public good pleasurable in itself, and of stimulating men of all classes to great endeavors by other means than that evidence of power which manifests itself by lavish expenditure. We need to foster fine work and fresh initiative by the warming breath of sympathy and appreciation of those who truly understand it; we need to turn consumption into paths that strengthen the consumer and call forth the best qualities of those who provide for consumption.

Public sentiment is always ingenious and inventive. When the mind is turned in one direction it is wonderful how many expedients are devised. Steam and electricity in the physical world, and liberty and democracy in the social, in proportion as they have

dominated thought and activity, have wrought themselves out in methods and measures, in instruments and institutions undreamt of by those who discerned their possibilities at first. Freedom of conscience was once regarded as fatal to the permanence and influence of organized religion. But it was announced, it was argued, defended, until it became a part of the common belief of the more advanced communities; and when it reached this stage, it was not difficult to harmonize the speculative theory with the exigencies of church order and church efficiency. In the same way, if there can be created a general, an overwhelming conviction that in the nature of things the producer must cater to the consumer, and that the market, therefore, is responsible for the manufactory, it will not be very long before the genius of man will show itself equal to the new thought by new social plans and arrangements. These must inevitably follow, or the analogies of history are illusive. Even already are societies being formed, and confederacies entered into, for the purpose of influencing trade against the sweater and his despicable *confrères*. The labor unions have taken up this cause, and by labels on the goods which may safely and with honor be bought, and by boycotts and other comparatively crude schemes, have done something toward arresting the evils from which the whole of society suffers. And it is exceedingly unlikely that these efforts will end here. Consumers are learning already in part how to act together for mutual protection, and the human brain is too fertile in expedients for them to cease their endeavors. When they shall come to sympathize more fully with Ruskin's declaration that "government and

co-operation are in all things the laws of life, anarchy and competition the law of death," [1] they will feel more keenly the need for immediate and practical measures of relief. Perhaps they will see more clearly their way out of the existing confusion if they will follow the clue which he has suggested in the doctrine he thus enunciates:

> Production does not consist in things laboriously made, but in things serviceably consumable; and the question for the nation is not how much labor it employs, but how much life it produces. For as consumption is the end and aim of production, so life is the end and aim of consumption. [2]

A desperate economic fallacy has lately been put into circulation by a certain Colonel Dyer, of England, and probably it will soon be current in America. When addressing the United Club he denied explicitly that labor is a source of wealth. He maintained that it only contributed to wealth, as coal is necessary to the generation of power. Continuing he said:

> Both labor and coal are inert masses until galvanized into life by intelligence and proper direction. . . Capital brought intelligence, the savings of years, the power of organization, the education that enabled it to get orders and to build up credit. Then it turned round to labor and said, "What do you bring?" They answered, "We bring the labor of our hands." And what was that? It was an inert mass until it was invested with life by direction.

If these sentiments are warranted by facts, co-operative movements should be abandoned. Their success is not merely problematical, it is impossible; for if labor is like coal, inert and unintelligent, and if capital is, on

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[1] "Modern Painters." [2] "Unto This Last."

the other hand, necessarily active and intelligent, then they are so essentially different in nature that terms of correspondence do not exist by which they can be associated. The object of the military sociologist is undoubtedly to magnify the money power beyond all conceivable comparisons with abject toil. He seeks by a bold flight of the fancy to blight forever the hopes of any sort of partnership or compromise being entered into between so lofty and independent a force and its presumptuous rival. But his presentment of his case is absurdly fallacious; and were he to set squadrons in the field as he manœuvres his sentences it would not require the genius of a Napoleon to rout him "horse and foot." We protest that his analogy between labor and coal is not sound. Labor at first was not called into play by capital, but by necessity. There were imperative needs that had to be provided for, and there were sufferings and perils that had to be averted, and of these, long before money of any kind had been invented, toil was born. Moreover, even to-day, if labor were like coal, only serviceable as directed by an outside mind, it would be worthless; for the real difference between it and machinery is that machinery must be superintended, while labor superintends the machinery, which it could not do were it only an inert, unenlightened mass. We admit that some workmen are not well informed nor remarkably thoughtful; but have we never met capitalists who have occupied the same level of ignorance? Artisans are not all stupid, neither are all capitalists intellectual.

But if the colonel shall answer, "I am not speaking of individuals, only of commodities," then I beg leave

to remind him that intelligence can no more be predicated of one commodity than of the other. A dollar does not think, neither does it plan and devise, and for practical uses and for multiplication of its kind is as much dependent on an outside intelligence as labor. In the last analysis they are both called into being by mind, and for their usefulness both of them still depend on mind. They are neither of them anything until they are employed, and their employment is not determined by something inherent in themselves, but to something external to them. The one, therefore, does not outrank the other. Yet if there are to be degrees of dignity recognized, then historically labor rises above capital; for wealth came from toil, and toil originally was not the offspring of wealth. Nay, more, it is conceivable that were all we designate as capital annihilated, society would have in itself the power of self-perpetuation, retaining still the ability and skill for successful work. But were such ability paralyzed and ruined beyond recovery, capital would prove totally inadequate to preserve society from disintegration and decay. Co-operative methods have already furnished evidence of the soundness of this position. They reveal groups of men with neither money nor credit entering on important enterprises, and conducting them successfully through a long series of years. With the growth of these enterprises, capital has accumulated, showing conclusively that labor is not necessarily an inert mass; but that it can organize itself, and direct itself independently of capital, and create that which writers like Colonel Dyer are pleased to describe as its creator.

Until the money power comes to think more reason-

ably and more modestly of itself, every attempt at social betterment will be frustrated. As long as it is encouraged to regard itself as the sole agency in promoting civilization, without whose captaincy industry would neither exist nor achieve, it will give itself lordly airs, and conclude that labor ought to be grateful for the opportunity to earn even starvation wages. In this lofty mood it will regard every appeal for fairer remuneration as presumptuous and impertinent, and every combination for such purposes as an infringement on its sacred rights.

Receiving constantly the adulation of its devotees, who "bend the pregnant hinges of the knee where thrift may follow fawning," it will chafe against opposition, it will decline debate, and will cherish the most edifying confidence in its own self-sufficiency. Uplifted to such heights as these, capital betrays an appalling lack of good sense, good judgment, and good feeling; and instead of contributing to progress it often actually retards and deteriorates. Presumably no homilies will bring it to a truer estimate of its limitations. Words, however kindly meant, will probably only give offense. The teaching must proceed from other teachers than authors on sociological subjects. Arguments are not likely to prevail against impregnable and audacious self-conceit. That must be overcome in the school of experience and experiment. Such a school co-operation has opened, in which, as time shall elapse, capital will learn to modify its claims and to prize more generously what it has so frequently affected to despise. There, also, while it will find its rights respected, it will be taught the measure of its obligations; and finally there

it will be convinced that only in union with labor, and in rendering to labor its due honor and reward, can it really serve the Social State and contribute both economically and ethically to its permanent stability and splendor.

CHAPTER VIII

TIME AND TAXES

A POEM by Henry Van Dyke, entitled "The Toiling of Felix," [1] has undertaken to illuminate the words ascribed to Jesus in the recently discovered "Logia": "Raise the stone and thou shalt find me; cleave the wood, and I am there." The author represents his hero as burdened and perplexed, praying before an altar in Egypt for a vision of his Lord. In obedience to the answer, "Go forth and search," he sets out as the knight of old went forth to discover the Holy Grail. After some wandering, he at last comes across a fragment of old papyrus, and finds written thereon the now famous saying. Somewhat discouraged by the directions given, he nevertheless joins a company of laborers in a quarry where stones are being hewn for the erection of a great city. When the task is complete, Felix enters the city he has helped to construct, and from the altar of the temple pleads that he has done as he was commanded—he has "raised the rock and felled the tree, swung the axe and plied the hammer, working every day for thee."

There as he prayed the Master stood in glory before him, manifest to mortal sight, and addressed to him many exquisite assurances, the climax of which we have in these lines:

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[1] "Scribner's Magazine," April, 1898.

They who tread the path of labor, follow where my feet have
trod;
They who work without complaining, do the holy will of God.

Where the many toil together, there am I among my own;
Where the tired workman sleepeth, there am I with him alone.

I, the peace that passeth knowledge, dwell amid the daily strife,
I, the bread of heaven, am broken in the sacrament of life.

Every task, however simple, sets the soul that does it free;
Every deed of love and mercy done to man, is done to me.

Thou hast learned the peaceful secret; thou hast come to me for
rest,
With thy burden in thy labor, thou art, Felix, doubly blest.

Nevermore thou needest seek me; I am with thee everywhere;
Raise the stone and thou shalt find me; cleave the wood, and I
am there.

The purport of the poem is clear enough. In it the author is exalting manual toil into a holy sacrament. He aims to teach that in the daily task God may be found, as he is believed to reveal himself to the faithful in the ordinances of the church.

But the poet seems to be oblivious to the fact that his own legend does not carry out this idea. Felix does not find the Master while he is raising the stone or in the act of cleaving the wood, but afterward; and that too, not in the forest or the quarry, but in the edifice reared for religious uses. The consistent development of his thought would have led his hero, while chiseling the stone or wielding the axe, to have obtained an insight into spiritual things, especially into the heart of Christ, and to have derived therefrom an inspiration to noble and manly conduct. Instead of this, he failed to

learn anything until he went to the sanctuary, and there he was graciously told how labor should affect his thought and feeling. The divine teacher was needed. Labor had not taught the lesson apart from him; possibly it could not; and under the conditions of its existence to-day, it may be doubted whether it ever can.

The time may come when industry may be a cult, and when it may result in a theophany, and when it may supersede some existing methods of religious training; but that enlightened era has not yet dawned. At present the toiler, when he "raises the stone," finds the tax-gatherer, and has to plan and scheme how to make both ends meet; and when he would "cleave the wood," he is confronted, not by the Christ, but by the landlord, or by lawyers with their endless technicalities, and everything like peace and devoutness suffers in consequence of their exasperations. Poetry has for many years extolled the dignity and divinity of labor, but these qualities are not easily recognized when weariness unfits the mind for reflection and the heart for prayer; and when strength is painfully expended to create wealth in which the chief producer has no adequate share; and when his inadequate share is proportionately more heavily taxed than the immeasurably larger portion.

This poetry, then, has come to be laughed at by the workers, or it is mockingly described as being out of tune, and as being fitted only for the singers who shall be born a millennium or so from now, and whose throats shall not be hoarse from the dampness and miasma of tenements, and whose spirits shall not be crushed by the despairing tears and groans wrung from the people

in the murderous struggle for existence. And it is equally distasteful to the rural populations of the civilized world. Much discontent prevails among agricultural classes everywhere. Even in their plowing, sowing, reaping, they fail to perceive the wonderfully elevating and sanctifying influences which are so charmingly portrayed by men of genius, who never sweltered in the furrows or in the harvest field, and never had the profits of their sore travail swallowed up by greedy manipulators on Boards of trade.

Taxes and rents, the land question, and the question of the reasonable length of a working day, affect the country as well as the city. Perhaps these issues come closer to the inhabitants of the rural districts than to others. At least we know that agrarian agitations were among the earliest that shook the stability of Rome. The Middle Ages witnessed the uprising of the Jacquerie in France, and of the Peasants in England, "the poure folk in cotes" of Langland's vision of England. Immediately following the Reformation, the Peasants' War startled Germany, and the invasion of Paris by the poor from the provinces had much to do with the sudden outbreak of the Revolution; and to-day no cries are more bitter and no complainings more appalling than those which are heard among the Crofters of Scotland, the tenants of Ireland, and many holders of farming lands in America, who have found it very hard at times to gather a scanty subsistence from the soil. With depressing unanimity, these classes reply to the poets that they are not conscious of any spiritual uplifting through their vocation, and that the Master does not reveal himself to them in their exacting duties, and that they have

no hope of anything better so long as the existing disabilities from which industry suffers are permitted to endure.

The Social State will assuredly bring them to an end; and even now there are reforms at work which are steadily making for their extinction. These are particularly concerned with the length of time devoted to labor and the amount of taxes exacted from labor. With these issues we desire to deal in the present chapter.

It is of the nature of slavery that the human chattel has no time that he can really claim as his own. He is subject to the will of his master at any hour, day or night. Consequently he cannot plan to dispose of himself or to refresh and equip himself. He may do something toward his own culture, but the opportunity will be his by the favor of his owner, or by the altogether justifiable petty larceny of minutes not his own. How wretched is his plight! From sunrise to sundown, and even to beyond midnight, he is another's, and has no right to snatch a moment for his own advantage. Is not the victim to such a system entitled to our sympathy? Yes; we have shed unnumbered tears over his hard lot, and we have spent blood and treasure to effect his freedom. And yet there are myriads in all lands who, though no longer slaves, are only separated from the state of slavery by a shadowy and fanciful boundary. While no individual owns them, they are in bonds. They are, of course, free to starve if they elect to protest against the yoke imposed; but if they submit, they have no time that they can call their own. In numerous instances and in various pursuits they are expected to work so many hours that when their task is done

they have no strength left for household duties or for wholesome and needed recreation.

A baker who was found dead on the floor of a London bakery had been incessantly employed through fourteen hours, and a newspaper recording his sad end, brought about by the stifling heat and exhaustion, stated that these hours were not exceptional in his craft. What opportunity can such workmen have for home duties, for the training of their children, or for the development of a religious spirit? Evidently none at all. And there is a widespread conspiracy to rob them even of their Sunday. Municipalities, corporations, newspapers, each in their own way, are doing all they can to complete the serfdom of toil by robbing it of the only day in which the toiler can wash up and pull himself together and remember that he is a man.

Where is the practical difference between these sufferers and the slaves of the Roman Empire or of the ante-bellum Southern States? The latter could run away, and perhaps be torn to death by bloodhounds; that was his privilege. So the former may strike and feel the sharp pangs of hunger; that, likewise, is his privilege. But if he consents to serve, or if by his necessities he is compelled to serve,—like the old slave, —he must give all the time his master demands, even to utter and unutterable exhaustion; and though the whip may not crack over him, threats and fines may drive him on to physical and mental prostration.

Among these sufferers may be numbered the victims of sweating shops, many seamstresses, clerks, operators on city street railroads, and others whose special callings need not be particularized here. Whoever desires to

identify them need not go far to find them. They exist in every large community. Many of them do not complain. They put a brave face on what they cannot remedy. Were they to manifest discontent, they know they would be dismissed, and consequently, slavelike, they keep on their way, simply praying that their cruel bondage may somehow be abolished. But their silence is not to be construed as meaning acquiescence in their cruel plight. Dared they to cry out, it would be perceived that their wrongs are not imaginary, and that the number of the wronged is far greater than is supposed.

In the Social State such a condition of affairs cannot and will not be tolerated. Then it will be axiomatic that every citizen should toil; that a reasonable amount of labor is indispensable to personal growth and happiness; and that more than a reasonable amount should not be exacted from any one. It will then be recognized that every man has a right to his own time beyond the few hours really requisite for his self-support and the support of his household; and that it should become to him a means for self-culture and domestic happiness. And then it will be perceived that machinery furnishes the long-desired facilities and instrumentality for the realization of these aims. Its place and function in the social economy will then be discerned and appreciated. The notion that it has been created to drive helpless thousands to starvation, or that it has come to supersede artisans and to doom multitudes to idleness, will then be discarded; for then it will be understood that machinery means shorter hours of work, and work less exhausting, and the enlargement of opportunity for personal improvement.

In some quarters already, there are those who are doing their utmost to bring the public mind to the level of this great conception. They maintain with intelligent persistency that the multiplication of mechanical contrivances should shorten the working day. To them, a Corliss engine is a kind of apocalyptic angel having an everlasting gospel to preach, a new messenger of peace and good-will to man. And each invention, each additional triumph over the forces of nature, and each practical appliance of their energies to production, ought to be regarded as a benefactor and as a benefaction. The sociologists who hold to this belief are striving to secure the blessings of machinery to society by diminishing the hours of toil. Practical statesmen and eminent philanthropists have co-operated with them, and they have witnessed some encouraging successes.

In England, this movement began when the working day of apprentices was defined and limited by law. This was in 1802. Not, however, until 1819 was real progress achieved. Then the State prohibited the employment of children under nine years of age, and reduced the working hours for women and minors from fourteen to twelve. In 1825, another innovation occurred. Cotton operatives were favored, and in 1831 these operatives were further assisted by legislation, and in 1833 children under thirteen were restrained from laboring over eight hours a day, and they had guaranteed to them two hours a day for schooling. The advantages accruing to the nation from these changes were so manifest that in 1844 children under fourteen were debarred from toiling over half-time, and the other half was devoted to education.

Nor did the reform end here. A further reduction took place in 1847; and in 1874 another step was taken in the right direction by fixing nine and a half hours as the limit of the industrial day for men in manufacturing pursuits. John Burns, M. P., has defended this legislation, showing very clearly the admirable effect it has had on the morals, the habits, the home life, and the general intelligence, of the artisan classes; while statesmen like Sir Robert Peel, Arthur Roebuck, and even John Bright, publicly acknowledged their mistake in antagonizing its provisions. Its influence has indeed spread far and wide, and, among other benefits, it has led to the earlier closing of shops and to the Saturday half-holiday. As a wise anonymous economist testifies:

> Its effects are seen also in a reduction of labor on street-car and 'bus lines from sixteen hours to twelve a day. This change was fought at every step by employers; was fought by the workmen themselves, who declared the law was interfering with their "rights"; that they should be allowed to work as long as they pleased, they and their wives and their children. Dire ruin was predicted on all sides. Employers declared it would be the death-blow to English manufacturers: that they could never compete with the longer hour workshops of France, Germany, and Belgium. And yet English manufacturers have never so prospered as they have under the shorter day of nine hours as compared with one of ten, eleven, twelve, and fourteen. Capital has had increased profits, and the workman has had increased wages, the reduction in these which the shorter hours at first caused being more than regained. The material, moral, and physical improvement among the workmen are equally patent, and a matter of history.

No wonder, then, that it should confidently be expected that a continuation of this reform should entail

added benefits on the community. One James Stephens, a mason employed on public buildings in Melbourne, Australia, concluded in 1855 to make a strike for the eight-hour day. Others came to share his opinion and, without violence or the direct invocation of law, the new schedule was adopted. That the scheme has worked well no one entitled to consideration denies. "In eight-hour Australia thrift and economy prevail to a great extent." The people are prosperous, contented, and happy, and in more than one respect are leading the world. Encouraged by what has come to pass in that far-off land, efforts have been made in Great Britain and America to obtain for industry the benefits of the eight-hour day. Frequent agitations have occurred in both countries on the subject, notably in 1886, when a plan was afoot to inaugurate a general strike to wrest it from unwilling employers, and which was abruptly terminated by the bomb explosion in Haymarket Square, Chicago. But the discussions in newspapers, magazines, and pulpits on this measure brought into painful relief the terrible extremes to which the multitudes were reduced. It was then made manifest that, notwithstanding the humanitarian legislation of Massachusetts and other commonwealths, untold multitudes had, for a meagre subsistence, to pursue their endeavors through so many hours that no time remained for necessary recuperation, to say nothing of necessary recreation. The disclosures made were simply appalling, and were producing their due effect on the public mind, when the anarchists turned the tide of feeling and arrested the approaching reform. The sound of the explosion hushed the voice of complaint, drowned the clamor of the agitator, and even

silenced the preacher and philanthropist; for none desired to be classed with ruffians and murderers. A sudden calm followed the squall. Every one of note refrained from advocating the cause of the artisan. No one knew what would be next. Some excellent people feared they had gone too far in siding with labor, and a few of the money-loving saints did not hesitate to use the crime of the anarchists as a text for the benefit of their clergymen who had espoused the interests of the poor and wretched.

But while the movement came, for the time being, to a disastrous end, the things said and done, the exposures made, and the theories advocated could not entirely perish from the memory or from the common heart of mankind. They were simply buried, entombed, or, better still, planted in the soul, and lost to sight until the vernal equinox, when they shall reappear and change the face of the industrial landscape.

Kipling's refrain, "Lest we forget," need not be repeated in the ears of those who lived during these trying times; for though we shared in the melancholy "Recessional," we can never cease to remember the utterances of the weary and the teachings of the economists which entered so largely into the controversies of those perilous days. One man asserted that he had been married three years and had never seen his family by daylight; and another declared that he had to work from seven o'clock in the morning until ten at night, and on Sundays until four P. M. He added that even then his "boss" was sad when he saw the store about to close. An article also appeared at the time of the discussion in "The Forum," from which we gather the

following interesting items: If the eight-hour system were adopted in America, there would be a uniform reduction of three hours' labor a day, the effect of which would be to reduce the average daily production over one-fourth. This would be equal to increasing the present demand over one-fourth; that is, it would create employment for three million five hundred thousand toilers—more laborers than we have disengaged in the United States and in England. Then the new demand for labor would necessarily increase the number of consumers, and thereby still further enlarge the demand for commodities, and according to the popular doctrine of supply and demand, the increased call for labor, by reducing competition among laborers, must tend to increase wages. But the advantage would not wholly be with the artisan class. The change proposed would add "to the extent of the market," and as Adam Smith taught, "the larger the market the lower the price," the manufacturer would maintain his profits by the additional demand for his goods; and the public would be benefited, for this demand being increased would enable the producer to sell at prices even more moderate than at present. The writer, of whose article we are giving a summary, adds that "the extent of the market" is governed by the normal consumption of wealth in any community, and the consumption of wealth is determined by the general standard of living; and therefore whatever tends to increase the wants and improve the habits of the masses must necessarily tend to permanently increase the consumption and production of wealth, and thereby conduce to industrial and social advancement. He quotes Professor Hearn as saying:

It depends upon the education, in the widest sense of the term, of each individual, and upon his character as mainly resulting from that education, how many and what kind of objects, and with what persistency he desires. We know that the desires of educated men are more varied and more extended than those of persons without education. We know the wages of educated men are higher, and consequently the means of gratifying their desires greater than those of the uneducated. . . . Those nations and those classes of a nation who stand highest in the scale of civilization are those whose wants, as experience shows us, are the most numerous.

The conclusion from this statement is, that as the eight-hour rule would create new environments and afford opportunities for personal improvement, wants would multiply, the standard of living improve, and, as a result, general prosperity ensue. This conclusion he admirably strengthens by an appeal to those countries where a gradual reduction in the hours of labor has taken place. His facts and figures warrant the inference that wherever this course has been pursued, beneficial social changes have followed; and consequently he recommends that in the United States an effort should be made to diminish the time now devoted to all kinds of business pursuits.

With the attempts made to secure the eight-hour day the writer of this volume very heartily sympathized, bearing his part in public debate, once before seven thousand working people, and in private conference. He still holds to the principle in general, though he now realizes more than he did then that it is a principle which, in practical operation, must allow for several striking exceptions. It cannot be applied rigidly and

arbitrarily to professional life, without occasioning serious derangement; and it cannot be adhered to at every stage of industrial activity without at times entailing considerable loss. Nor is it clear that every vocation should be pursued each day to the extreme limit of eight hours. Some engagements probably ought not to be continued so long; and others might, with profit, be more protracted. Perhaps the economic science governing the Social State will determine on some such general rule as this—that monotonous callings shall be pursued through the fewest possible hours, while versatile vocations—vocations that enlist the mind, and that are varied in their exactions—may be carried on much longer, the minimum of time to the least interesting of tasks, and the maximum to the most fascinating and elevating.

Where drudgery and menial service occupy the day, and where attention has to be given to some repetitious performances, as the guiding of a shoe in a machine, or the polishing of a pin, the laborer may surely claim relief from the treadmill and marking-time process at an earlier hour than should bring to an end the duties of many public functionaries who have ample opportunity for leisurely perusal of newspapers, for delightful smoke talks, and for quiet seasons of repose while filling their posts in custom houses, court houses, and city halls. The student, the lawyer, the preacher, the merchant, however pressed and driven, is conscious of a certain degree of freedom, of freedom to turn his mind into other channels or to relax its intensity, which of itself brings relief; but the operator in a mill has no such sense of personal mastery over his own actions. He is harnessed to the

machinery. He must plod on; and if his head aches, or his limbs tremble, he must grind on just the same at the mill of the Philistines. If he pauses he is fined, and if he relaxes his energy he is turned adrift.

That men and women who are compelled from one year to another to toil in mines, in factories, and sweating shops, going patiently over and over the same thing, behave themselves as well as they do, and refrain as much as they do from strong drink, is to me a source of amazement; and that they do not, Samson-like, rise in their maddened strength and pull the social fabric down, is very much to their credit. The iniquity of this arrangement is coming to be more clearly recognized. It cannot last forever. Ultimately reason and justice will prevail. And then the drudges of society, "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water," on account of the unpalatable and dreary character of the service they render, will be dismissed from their work at an early hour, and will have ample opportunity for the recovery of their strength and for the cultivation of their higher nature.

Probably this emancipation will never be achieved unaided by legislative intervention. Personally, we wish it might never be necessary to invoke the aid of government, and we believe many others besides ourselves would much prefer to see the leading employers take the initiative. It would be a grand thing for them to effect an organization among themselves for the purpose of agreeing that eight hours henceforth shall constitute a day's work. Were they to take this action, the smaller manufacturers and masters would be obliged to follow suit; for otherwise they would find no operatives

or mechanics willing to serve them. But while we cannot recommend the direct interference of the State in this matter, yet we are fully persuaded that in those instances where women and children, and some men also, are compelled by their employers to labor from thirteen to fifteen hours a day, it ought, both in the name of justice and of the Constitution, to interpose, that these helpless ones may be rescued from the unfeeling creatures who seem to think that nerves and muscles are as unsusceptible to pain as the machinery they use is to conscious weariness.

Let it not be forgotten that the Constitution declares that Congress shall have power "to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." Some persons may question the force of the latter clause; but, nevertheless, if the legislation on behalf of sailors may be taken as illustrative of its scope, then there is nothing to prevent our lawmakers from correcting by legal enactment the abuse of which we complain. Such a statute would not differ in principle from what was done for the welfare of our mariners. If advantage is continually being taken of the necessities of the labor-classes, so that they are being morally and physically injured, and if they are gradually being unfitted to bear the responsibilities of citizens, and relief comes from no other quarter, then the government, on the authority of the Constitutional provision referred to, ought to interfere. It has no right to permit what is, or will be, virtually a slave caste developed by overreaching greed beneath the very shadow of our free institutions. There is no sort of socialistic taint in the recommendation we make.

We are not advising that Congress shall determine what profession any one shall follow, or shall undertake to manage the business of the country; but simply that it shall proceed to take such steps as shall prevent the possibility of a repetition in this land of the Venetian Republic's decline and fall.

An oligarchy ruled and ruined Venice. It will prove disastrous wherever it is fostered. Far more is it to be dreaded than a monarchy; and of all oligarchies, that of money is the most soulless and despicable. Our government is as much bound to stay its insidious approaches as it is to guard against schemes and plots of any ambitious demagogue who might take a serious fancy to establish here a throne and make himself a king. Short work would be made of such an aspirant for regal honors. The authorities, though they might smile at his pretensions, would not for a moment allow him to enforce them. So, observing the deteriorating effect of excessive hours of labor, and discerning how they favor the formation of a privileged order, which on account of its immense resources becomes a menace to the well-being of these States, they ought to be equally prompt to avert the peril.

There are not a few citizens who seem to imagine that such intervention is contrary to the doctrines of sound political economy. It is argued that attempts to regulate industrial matters have failed of marked benefit, and that industry always thrives when it is least hampered by the State. This position, while it may attract by its advocacy of the *laissez-faire* policy, has not the support of facts. The value and the efficacy of the industrial legislation which has been enacted in

Great Britain and in the United States during the last half-century, has been so fully demonstrated as to leave no place for discussion. John Stuart Mill, in his great work on "Liberty," justifies, on social grounds, the prohibition of labor on the Sabbath, and in doing so concedes the economical soundness of government interposition to regulate the hours of labor on other days. And in the words of John Morley,[1] when theorists still object, "The answer of modern statesmanship is that unfettered individual competition is not a principle to which the regulation of industry may be entrusted." The statement which has sometimes been made, that the legislation contemplated would have a deleterious effect on the working classes, impairing their self-reliance, is hardly entitled to serious consideration. It is reiterated in the face of the immense advantages which have accrued to labor from the wise and humane provisions which have improved their condition without detracting from their independence.

Says Mr. Cunningham, an English writer, in "Politics and Economics":

> Nothing is more difficult than to forecast the effect of any legislative measure on the characters of people. In general such forecasts are worthless. So far as we may judge from experience, there is no evidence of this particular ill effect from legislative interference. The miners of this country can hardly be looked upon as a limp and dependent class of beings, in spite of the regulations that hedge them round every moment of their working lives; nor our weavers, in spite of the legal inspection of factories. Those who make the objection seem to forget that the modern State is not some alien power to which the workers are asked to surrender themselves body and soul; that it is very rapidly be-

[1] "Life of Cobden."

coming neither more nor less than the organized expression of the will of the majority. Thus in appealing to legislation, it is every year more nearly true to say that the people *are* acting for themselves.

And to this, it may be added, as the fraternal spirit extends and triumphs, the necessity for such action will diminish, as then the chiefs of the business world will be convinced that their interests are identical with those of their helpers; and then they will gladly do from love what now they would only do reluctantly from stress of law.

But if it is unfair to tax immoderately the energies of industry, it is equally unjust to tax its earnings excessively. This unfortunately has been done in many ways, particularly by indirect methods; and in all civilized countries more or less dissatisfaction prevails with the burdens toil is compelled to endure. It is well known that the principal cause of revolt in Cuba and in the Philippines was the heartless exploiting of these colonies by Spain for her own financial profit. The same policy is largely pursued by Russia and Germany toward their dependencies, and in time it will end in collapse and disaster. Unequal taxation; the crushing of the poor under exactions intolerable and indefensible, that the affluent, having all, might yet have more, explains the catastrophe that overwhelmed the Roman Empire, and that engulfed France in the whirling maelstrom of revolution. And never in the long run can it fail to produce demoralization, wretchedness, convulsions, and ruin; demoralization, for it leads to callousness and cruelty on the part of officials, and to evasions, lies, and downright perjury on the part of those who are

oppressed; wretchedness, for it deprives the masses of hope, and breeds the spirit of recklessness; and convulsion and ruin, for it provokes antagonism, alienates one portion of society from the other, and maddens the desperate crowd to terrible acts of fiery retaliation.

In the Social State these outbreaks will never occur; for there corporations will not expect valuable franchises for next to nothing; there millionaires, if any shall survive, will not make false returns of personal property; there revenue will not be derived from tariff laws which benefit the manufacturer and impoverish the masses; and there capital will not dodge and hide, and demand interest on bogus stock, and convert itself into a gambler and public plunderer. But this ideal condition, we apprehend, will not be attained apart from laborious study, manifold experiments, and some humiliating experiences. Nevertheless, however distant, we should contribute toward its realization, and should do everything in our power to forward the inevitable transformation from the crude systems of the present to the scientific methods of the future.

Only the genius of a Gladstone can invest figures and yearly budgets with the romantic charm that compels popular interest. And yet the annals of taxation, though recorded in homeliest terms, possess a certain value which should constrain all classes to give them more than ordinary attention. The age has much to learn from the arbitrary assessments of the early Plantagenet kings; from the Bull *Clericis laicos;* from the land tax of Cromwell; from the hearth money; the house tax—determined by the number of windows; the stamp duties; the imposts of 1690; the excise measures; the

inheritance tax; the stamp act of Grenville, which cost England her American colonies; and the corn laws, which nearly cost her internal peace and national prosperity. To review this history, and to unfold the lessons which it inculcates, would carry me too far from my immediate purpose; and I must therefore rest satisfied with the mere recognition of its importance while, under the influence of its teachings on my own thought, I proceed to the discussion of the special subject I have in view.

The second half of the eighteenth century gave rise to a school of economists, at the head of which was François Quesnay, and among whose members were the elder Mirabeau, Dupont de Nemours, Turgot, and Adam Smith, though the last-named writer was not a convert to all of its principles. This eminent Scotchman spent 1764 in Paris, and afterward published his "Wealth of Nations" (1776), through which the existing economical systems of Europe and America have been mainly shaped and fashioned. In this epoch-making book there are found four canons, apparently borrowed from Turgot, which its author prescribed for the regulation of taxes: "They should be equal; they should be certain; they should be payable at the most convenient time; and they should be economically collected." Prof. Thorold Rogers insists "that the last three canons are only subordinate forms of the first." We are of the opinion that his point is well taken; and other critics have concurred with him. Nevertheless, in a great many works on political economy, this classification, with more or less distinctness, appears; and modern sociologists are governed by it to an extent perhaps hardly

realized.[1] On my own part, while I discern its defects, it has proven very helpful, and like others, to some extent I adhere to its spirit if not altogether to its letter. My reading and reflection compel me to revise the famous canons, and to formulate them in such a way, and with such additions as may serve to advance the discussion we have in hand. The principles to be recognized are :

A. Taxes should be equal, and not unequal ;
B. Taxes should be direct, and not indirect ;
C. Taxes should be simple, and not complex ;
D. Taxes should be certain, and not precarious.

In unfolding and applying these principles, we begin with Adam Smith's definition of equality. He says :

> The subjects of every State ought to contribute toward the support of its government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. The expense of government to the individuals of a great nation is like the expense of management to the joint tenants of a great estate, who are all obliged to contribute in proportion to their respective interests in the estate. In the observation or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation. Every tax, it must be observed once for all, which falls finally upon one only of the three sorts of revenue above mentioned (viz., rents, wages, profits), is necessarily unequal in so far as it does not affect the other two.

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[1] "*Handbuch der Politischen Ockonomie*," Schönberg ; "Economic Interpretation of History," Rogers ; "Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith ; "Social Statics," Herbert Spencer ; "American Taxation," Burke ; "Principles of Political Economy," Sidgwick ; "Progress and Poverty," Henry George ; "Land and its Rent," Gen. Francis A. Walker ; "Political Economy," John Stuart Mill ; and "Club Essays," Cobden.

The doctrine of the writer is that the commonwealth furnishes and maintains such conditions as enable the people to acquire an income, or "revenue," from wages, from rents, or from profits on merchandise; and that, therefore, the artisan, the landlord, and the merchant should render an equivalent proportionate to their income for the advantages received. John Stuart Mill throws some additional light on the scope of this maxim in the statement:

> Equality of taxation means equality of sacrifice. It means the apportioning the contribution of each person toward the expenses of government, so that he shall feel neither more nor less inconvenience from his share of the payment than every other person experiences from his.

However this result is to be achieved, there is no question among statesmen as to its native justice and desirability. Every one pleads for it in theory, however faithless he may be to it in practice. But whenever taxes bear most heavily on those who are least able to pay; and whenever relatively more is demanded from them than from those who enjoy special immunities and privileges from the State; and whenever they are so devised as to force the poor continually to increase the affluence of the rich; and whenever they are so planned that as much goes to the private treasury of individuals as to the service of the nation; and whenever they are so imposed as to be easily evaded by the corrupt and mercenary, they are necessarily unfair and unequal.

The tax on sugar illustrates my meaning. This is paid by the citizens of America, and is not collected from the foreign producer. This is proven by the fact that

the one hundred and eighty thousand tons produced within the territory of the United States had to be advanced two cents a pound to bring it up to the same price as that charged for the foreign article under the tariff schedule. This two cents increase represents an enormous sum, which the government did not exact, and which the consumer has to pay to the producer, and from which the government derives not one particle of revenue.

Nor is this all: The refiners have been given what amounts to a monopoly, and fresh exactions have been imposed. As these inevitably fall on the consumer, and as the poorer classes, as a rule, have the largest families, and as they therefore must use more sugar than the affluent, it follows that those who are least able to pay have to meet this tax, not really for the support of the government, but for the senseless multiplication of riches in families already immeasurably better off than themselves. This is but a single instance of a system which is keenly resented by multitudes of lowly people in various lands as unjust and as subversive of the primary canon of legitimate taxation. Well does Professor Rogers describe the growing feeling on this subject when he writes:

> The object of protection is to enhance prices. Prices are what a man has to pay; for it is no use to enhance a price which no one will give. But to make me or any one else pay more for what I must have than I need pay, and to put this compulsion on me in the interest of the third party, which is most falsely called native industry, is as violent an invasion of my personal liberty as I can easily conceive. I do not object that prices are heightened against me in order to provide funds for the administration of public affairs, . . . but I object very strongly to being called on to pay for one man's profits, and another man's rent, especially when

I have grave doubts whether profits or rents will be improved by these means ; and I am quite sure they ought not to be if they could. It is bad enough to be plundered for the best of causes, but to be plundered for the worst is more than irritating.

As intelligence spreads, these sentiments will prevail more extensively than they do at present, and the people will bring to an end a system which has made the government of various lands a tool in the hands of the capitalistic classes.

Advancing another step, we affirm that taxes ought to be direct, not indirect. We do not here have in mind special emergencies when some extraordinary need for money exists, as in seasons of war, but only those normal times when the ordinary provisions for the support of government have to be made ; though even, in my opinion, it would be better to provide for unexpected demands by direct taxation rather than by roundabout measures which generally favor speculators and schemers. For indirect taxation is to the consumer a kind of double taxation, as he is compelled by it to pay one tax to the State and another to the producer. The difference between the two forms of taxation named in our canon is set forth by Mill, Wagner, and other economists, with only slight variation, and may thus be defined :

A tax is direct when it is demanded from the very person who it is intended or desired should pay it, as the poll tax, the income tax, or taxes levied on personalty and realty ; but a tax is indirect when it is exacted from one person, who is expected and intended to recoup or indemnify himself at the expense of another, as in customs and excise duties.[1]

[1] "Economics of History," Rogers.

Many persons are strongly biased on the side of the second method of raising revenue. They regard it as less irritating, as less inimical to the personal freedom of the citizen, and as less difficult to collect, and even as less demoralizing. It is argued that the people resent the inspection of their affairs by officials; that they are tempted to make false returns and to perjure themselves, and that obstacles are placed by them in the way of assessors and collectors; and that for these reasons direct taxation should, as far as possible, be discouraged. But, as a matter of fact, are these evils obviated by the latter system? Have we no instances of venality under high tariff and protection laws? Are not importers every now and then caught trying to cheat the government; and are not false oaths, or oaths at least only partially true, as common among shippers and travelers under one kind of fiscal arrangements as another? These objections to the method of direct taxation will not bear scrutiny. Neither ought we for a moment to tolerate the plea that indirect taxes are better because they are not collected in such a way as to remind citizens of the expenses of government, or to bring them constantly in personal contact with its functionaries. Such a plea is base at its heart, and is grounded in the desire merely to spare the feelings of the people, not their pockets.

Why should not the voter know what he is paying for? Is it not injurious as well as misleading to blind the population of a nation to the necessary needs of government, and to leave the impression that the citizens are receiving a great deal from their representatives, for which they have given no equivalent? It is not difficult to understand why venerable monarchies

and imperial tyrannies conceal from their subjects as far as possible the burdens they have to carry, and mystify them into acquiescence in their high-handed proceedings; for were their victims to awake to the true condition of affairs, a storm of indignation would probably sweep away the oppressors. But among a free people, the policy of disguise and disingenuousness should peremptorily be condemned. Free men have a right to know what the State is doing with their money, and they should scorn to be cajoled by deceptive theories into paying what they should pay from a sense of duty. They are not children. The government is not the nation; it is only the representative and the executive force of the nation. Consequently there should be no distrust on the part of the government of the people; and no assumption—which, in a republic, amounts to presumption—that its members, drawn from the ranks of the people, are necessarily giants, well-qualified and divinely ordained to manage and manipulate the people, who are, on this supposition, only pigmies, incapable of understanding the necessities of the State and of rising to the level of intelligent and patriotic sacrifice.

Direct taxation educates the citizen to think. It constrains him to look more closely into the appropriations of legislatures, and disposes him to demand an economical administration of public affairs. Moreover, it appeals to his honor and his conscience, and it elevates him in his own consciousness by making plain to him that he is not merely a voter, but an actual ruler; not merely an individual, privileged to elect some one to govern him, to impose financial obligations on him, and to empty his pockets by some species of legislative leger-

demain quite beyond the range of his comprehension, but a real governor himself, contributing intelligently to the fiscal well-being of his country. Do we not also value more highly what costs us something to procure and to possess? And if so, then surely the straightforward method by which support is gained for the nation must be the wisest to adopt; for this method reminds us continually of the worth of that for which we pay, and endears it to us by the voluntary sacrifices made on its behalf.

The third of the canons we have formulated commends simple taxation over that which is complex. It has been shown by economists that where the number of commodities made dutiable has become excessive, and where one kind of tax has antagonized another, such confusion has ensued as to lead to discontent and sometimes to insurrection. Hence, Mr. Gladstone, in making up his famous budgets, adopted the principle that it is better for a comparatively few articles to bear the onus of taxation, even though the rate of taxation on such articles has to be raised, than for them to be bewilderingly multiplied. No one at all familiar with this branch of social science will dissent from this rule. It is unquestionably sound and salutary. But there are some economists who would push it to the extreme of precluding all but one class of taxable possessions from its operation. They are in favor of deriving financial supplies exclusively from land rent, or from incomes, or from some other source of revenue. Probably it will never be possible to carry out such an ideal; nor is it really demanded by simplicity.

What is meant by this doctrine is the development of

a homogeneous system of taxation; one in which the parts are not in theory subversive of each other, and one in which a great principle governs, and to which the details, with reasonable exactness, correspond. If, for instance, a tax on incomes were adopted as the ruling idea of a scheme, it would not be inconsistent with the underlying principle to tax likewise the instruments, such as deeds, wills, notes, contracts, by which incomes are often secured or promoted, and which necessitate the maintenance by the government of courts and officers of law. Neither would it be alien to its character were special franchises, such as the right of way for cars and public carriages through the streets of a city, or for elevated railroads, to be taxed annually, as their owners receive what belongs to the people at large, and therefore they ought to pay for the privilege of earning out of what belongs to every one large profits which are to accrue exclusively to themselves. If the citizen creates an income from private property, or from his own inventive genius, the sources of his income ought not to be taxed when the proceeds are burdened. But when the means from which revenues are to be reaped are not in the nature of private property; when they belong to the entire community; then, as the community has a right to their possible earnings, the men who obtain control over them ought not to be allowed to appropriate the increment to themselves alone. And more than this, if extraordinary profits are naturally the product of certain questionable industries, whose success tends to burden the commonwealth with demands for prisons, asylums, reformatories, and police, and whose activity impairs the ability of many citizens

to work for wages and to make money, then such industries, as they drain the treasury of the commonwealth, and as they diminish its receipts, ought to furnish commensurate compensation for the mischief they work. Consequently, to assess the manufacturers of strong drink and those who purvey it, and afterward to collect on their earnings as well, would not be inconsistent with the principle underlying an income tax.

These illustrations of the scope permissible in simple taxation naturally give rise to the inquiry whether the system we have been referring to is the one most in accord with the requirements of scientific economics. There is no denying that it is unpopular with some reputable sociologists. But it should be remembered that they usually study it practically, not ideally. They note, and they could not fail to note, that where it has been imposed, dishonest returns have been frequent, and that it has seemed to encourage, or at least facilitate, corruption. While all this is to be conceded, it should not be forgotten that, up to the present, we have no instance of any kind of taxation which has made men upright, and which rascals could not overreach and evade. Moreover, the income tax has often been adopted as an expedient to meet extraordinary exigencies of government. In some countries it is always apologized for when resorted to by statesmen, as though it were inherently pernicious; and in lands where it is recognized as a legitimate source of revenue, it is complicated with other taxes which tempt the overburdened citizen to escape from it if possible.

No wonder, then, that it should be unpopular; and no wonder, whenever it is suggested, that prejudices

should immediately appear! But looked at on the ideal side, the injustice of this antipathy becomes apparent. This method of raising revenue simply assumes the obligation of all citizens to contribute toward the expenses of the institutions under which they live and from which they derive many benefits; and it lays down the rule that the measure of this obligation, after a modest allowance of some one thousand dollars or two hundred pounds a year is made for personal subsistence, so that the poor be not burdened at all, should be determined by the amount of income derived from rents, profits, and wages. The principle at the foundation of this system is certainly fair. There is no injustice in it to any one. No class is oppressed for the advantage of another. All are equally in sacrifice for the common good. This participation, while yielding to the State an adequate revenue, has the further advantage of being elevating and stimulating in its influence. It appeals to the integrity and the independence of the citizen; it abates discontent, and abridges the distance between the rich and the poor. Ideally, then, this system is the best, or one of the best; and as humanity approaches the Social State, the practical difficulties in the way of its realization, due mainly to the greed and selfishness of mankind, will vanish; and when the Social State shall have fully come, then this or some kindred system, embodying the brotherhood which gives as fairly as it accepts, will finally be established.

It will be observed that thus far we have not dogmatized. We have rather been seeking to lay down principles than to evolve from them some definite economical scheme. And we have conceded that there may possi-

bly be a method for the raising of revenue as equitable as the one we have just been commending. To the physiocrat, François Quesnay, and to the single-taxer, Henry George, such a method is furnished, and one indeed superior to all others, by the programme which proposes the taxation of land values, including what is termed the unearned increment. Rousseau anticipated the theory which serves as incentive to this radical measure.[1] He cries :

> The first man who, after enclosing a piece of land, dared to say, This is mine, and found other men simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civilization. What crimes, what wars, what murders, what misery and horror would have been spared the human race, if some one, then, had torn down the enclosure and had cried to his fellows: "Beware of listening to this impostor ; you are lost if you ever forget that the fruits of the earth belong to all in common, and the earth itself to no one."

It is unnecessary to dwell on the fact that Rousseau regarded the civilization of his day as a gigantic curse. But the question arises, If private right to realty had not been asserted, whether there would have been any civilization at all; or whether it would have passed beyond the type still prevalent where communal ownership in land continues, as among the Aryan families of India, and the Servian and Bulgarian villages of Europe, and which is of a very primitive and squalid kind indeed.

From the history of progress it would seem, whatever may be true of the present, and whatever may be demanded for the future, that the private ownership of land has contributed to its triumphs and has constituted

[1] "French Revolution," Justin H. McCarthy, Vol. I., p. 81.

a necessary, even if only a temporary, stage in its development. It may be to the advantage of society to abolish this kind of ownership as rapidly as possible; and it may now be as great a curse as Mr. Henry George and his fervid disciples have pictured; but it is ridiculous to assert that *per se* it has been, and necessarily is, the source of poverty, and to deny that it has wrought in the past for the general well-being of the race. The poet says "that one good custom may corrupt the world"; and it is conceivable that the antiquated tenures of realty may also have outlived their usefulness, and that they should be superseded by a new method, and by one that shall practically return the earth to the people.

At present, various abuses and evils are painfully conspicuous. Unquestionably it is to be deplored that under existing arrangements it is possible for entire districts to be withdrawn from cultivation, breaking up multitudes of happy homes, and dooming thousands of people to dire distress, as among the Crofters of Scotland, that a few prosperous gentlemen may create extensive deer drives or expansive park systems. It should also occasion serious concern that in not a few localities, tenants are helpless in the merciless clutches of extortionate landlords, and that in the Northwest, American agriculture has to some extent come under the control of the bonanza farm companies, which own principalities in acreage and which, by their methods, hinder the settlement of the country with thriving and contented families. Moreover, it is not conducive to the peace and prosperity of communities for unimproved real estate in cities to be kept out of the market until

the industry of the citizens has enormously enhanced its value, and for it to be taxed, not according to its worth as estimated by the unearned increment, but as fixed by appraisements which encourage proprietors to let it remain indefinitely unoccupied. And it is a source of irritation and of reasonable complaint, that larger estates pay relatively a more moderate tax than those that are smaller,—and I think it can be proven that the smallest holdings pay relatively the very highest tax,—just as it costs the man more who buys his coal by the bushel than it does the citizen who can purchase it by the ton. There are rural townships where wealthy gentlemen insist that their extensive grounds shall be assessed as farm lands, and where their poorer neighbors, who may own only from four thousand to ten thousand feet of land, are rated differently and cannot escape from the injustice; and there are magnificent palaces which require a prince's ransom to rear and furnish, and which proportionately are not taxed as are the wretched dwellings of the poor.

This state of affairs is far from satisfactory, and it calls for vigorous and drastic treatment. It is not necessary that we should challenge the serviceableness of land ownership in the past, or rashly ascribe to it the origin and prevalence of poverty, for a conclusive case to be made out against continuing indefinitely a system which, in these times of ours, is working disastrously. Nothing is to be gained by extreme and untenable statements. That a law is ineffectual to-day, or inoperative, or positively pernicious, is no justification for claiming that it never was needful and useful. It has simply outlived its utility and may well be superseded by

another more in harmony with the changed conditions of civilization. This rule applies to the subject before us. The private ownership of land is apparently the fruitful source of wrong and suffering in modern society. Its governing principle seems to be contrary to the genius of the new era, and to be incapable of adjustment with its necessities and aspirations.

Some such arrangement as has been proposed by Mr. George and his followers, I am persuaded, must be adopted in the near future. I say *some such;* for it is not clear from their reasoning that they have yet discovered the terms in which the remedy they suggest can be adequately and finally stated. They confuse and deceive themselves by fanciful analogies, and even contradict themselves and each other. Imagining that they are in the clear sunlight, after all they have been publishing they are only groping toward the morning. But it is a great thing even to be merely facing in the right direction. This I am sure they are doing,—though once I did not think so,—and the means by which the land shall be restored to the people may be nearer discovery than many may suppose. When the true theory has been developed, then it may be possible to sustain the institutions of government by a single tax,—a tax levied on the land and determined by a rule which shall deal equitably by all. Such a tax would, in its nature, be both direct and simple; and while it might not do everything expected from it by its enthusiastic defenders, it would open new roads to industry, and, as it would practically restore the soil to the toiler, it would restore the toiler to the soil, and thus diminish the pressure of population on our cities and rehabilitate agriculture

with more than the dignity and attractiveness which have attached to it in its palmiest days.

A very few words will suffice to explain the fourth and last canon in our series, which enjoins the importance of certainty in taxation. On this point Adam Smith writes:

> The time of payment; the manner of payment; the quantity to be paid,—ought all to be clear and plain to the contributor and to every other person (on the ground of the otherwise arbitrary powers which are given to the tax-gatherer). . . The certainty of what each individual ought to pay is in taxation of so great importance that a very considerable degree of inequality, it appears, I believe, from the experience of all nations, is not near so great an evil as a very small degree of uncertainty.

This rule, if it does not reject the doctrine that the State is supreme in determining the amount and character of taxation, at least tends to limit the exercise of its sovereignty; and, according to our American ideas, carries with it the maxim that it ought to be co-ordinated with representation. "No taxation without representation," was the political slogan of our forefathers; for only by this restriction can arbitrary imposts be averted and "taxes most easily assessed and collected and that are at the same time most conducive to the public good"—which, as Hugh MacCulloch teaches, are indispensable elements of "certainty"—be secured. Fitfulness, irregularity, precariousness, must ever be deprecated as making for the embarrassment of the government in its appropriations and expenditures, and as making equally for the embarrassment of the citizen in his commercial and industrial pursuits. Whenever capriciousness and fickleness have presided over the

financial policy of a nation the condition of the people has speedily become unendurable. According to various authorities, it was these pernicious qualities which imparted to the oppressive manner of Roman taxation its most terrible and terrifying aspects. An account has come down to us from the hands of a Roman officer, one Seronatus,[1] of the sufferings entailed by them on the empire. "Under the able reign of Diocletian," so wrote the professor of modern history at Oxford in 1856, "the earth swarmed with the consuming hierarchy of extortion, so that it was said that they who received taxes were more[2] in number than those who paid them." From the famous letter of Lactantius, quoted by Michelet, we gather a similar view. He says:

> So numerous were the receivers in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation, that the laborer broke down, the plains became deserts, and woods grew where the plow had been. It were impossible to number the officials who were rained upon every province and town—*Magistri, Rationales*, clerks to the prefecture. Condemnations, proscriptions, and exactions were all they knew; exactions not frequent but perpetual, and accompanied by intolerable outrages!

So appalling was this reckless and unsettled system that it used to be said by the country people: "A good year does not depend upon the state of the harvests, but upon the disposition of the magistrates sent to govern us."[3] Under it, the citizen could lay no plans for the administration of his private affairs, and he never knew, when he entered on a new enterprise, whether the means at his disposal would not be seized by the government

[1] Sidonius Apoll., Epist. II., p. 1. [2] "Oxford Essays," 1856, p. 303.
[3] Sidonius, Epist. III., p. 6.

on one pretext or another and all of his endeavors in this manner be rendered futile. Uncertainty as to the amount of taxation that might be demanded necessarily led to uncertainty in the business enterprises and industries undertaken.

Of course there could only be one ending to this aberrant, abnormal, and abominable policy—the paralysis of energy and the bankruptcy of hope as well as of prosperity. Neither can any country increase in wealth and happiness where it is tolerated. Financial anarchy in the government can only result in commercial prostration and dismay in the community. Consequently, all legislation concerned with the creation of adequate revenues for the State should aim, first of all, at fixed principles, and should so apportion rates and determine times of collection that the people may know exactly what is expected of them and when it is due. As far as this rule has already been followed, incalculable benefits have accrued to civilized nations; and when it shall be more unreservedly adopted and be more completely and consistently applied, we may expect a yet further advance in all that makes for social comfort and contentment.

CHAPTER IX

THE CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

THE commander of the Anglo-Egyptian army in the Soudan, Sir Herbert Kitchener, forced the position of the enemy and achieved a brilliant victory after a long, tedious march through the desert. That his men should have been vigorous enough, considering the strain imposed on their strength by their journey, to have inflicted the decisive blow they dealt their entrenched opponents, has excited the wondering admiration of Europe and America. But now the secret is out. All cabinets, generals, and strategists have now the benefit of the English soldier's plan of successful battle. It is revealed in one word—temperance; or, more comprehensively speaking, total abstinence. Rum was forbidden the camp, and consequently ruin was averted from the arms of the small but splendid column. Nothing more stimulating than tea or coffee was considered necessary either for officers or privates, and with brain unclouded, and with nerves not rendered unsteady by alcohol, the courageous fellows opened the road to Khartum.

In the Social State strong drink will be unknown. Thank God! But the Social State will never be really attained until strong drink has been overthrown. We may plan, we may reform, we may spend millions on education and philanthropy, and we may suppress corporations and reduce taxation; and yet, unless the liquor

plague is stayed, society will hardly be any better than it is to-day, and it may be worse. That monstrous curse bars the way to the triumph of civilization. What was done at Atbara will have to be repeated on a larger scale if the cause of humanity is to be advanced. The Khalifa's power was there entrenched, and the Zereba appeared impregnable. But the troops of the Sirdar, many of whom were fellaheen conscripts, or Soudanese allies, stormed it heroically, cleared it away, and demonstrated to all the world the value of discipline and temperance. The obstacles that are placed in the path of progress by the drink traffic are even greater than those the British had to overcome on the Nile. They confront the friends of the poor, the weak, and helpless. They are reared and consolidated by wily traders and cunning politicians, who, as Mahmoud at Atbara retired to a bomb-proof pit excavated under his bed as soon as the fighting began, shield themselves, as far as possible, from the shrapnel shells of public scorn under pleas and theories which are as contemptible as they are untenable. All of their defenses must be swept away. If they are permitted to endure, every hope of the coming better time is fallacious and foolish. Here then is a conflict that cannot be avoided. The battle must be fought; and if it is to be successful, even the fellaheen of our social life must rise and co-operate with the church of God in delivering mankind from what is at once a curse and a crime.

Writing by inspiration, St. Paul reports an authoritative black list of the unhappy characters who shall have no place in the heavenly kingdom. The excluded and disinherited ones make up a melancholy, repulsive throng

of thieves, adulterers, revilers, extortioners, and of drunkards as well. This last class of evil-doers is put upon a level with the others. As they stumble and stagger toward eternity, the gates of glory roll slowly and solemnly together, their clanging echo sounding through shoreless space, in despairing ears, the tremendous declaration of everlasting exile. The malodorous breath of the intemperate shall never pollute the pure atmosphere of bliss; nor their mental and moral imbecility excite pity or disgust among the saved; nor their profane vaporing or wild delirium mingle its horrid dissonance with the sweet concord of holy praise

But if, however, as some believe, the phrase "kingdom of heaven" is to be restricted to the perfected Social State, and if it does not describe the world to come, even then we have in the apostle's invective a sweeping condemnation and a most assuring prediction. He contemplates an earthly community where the fumes of the distillery and the malt-house shall not infect the atmosphere; where the corner grog-shop shall not flaunt its infamy in the eyes of innocence; and where reeling brutality shall not beat into insensibility the wife and mother. His proscription is a prophecy of a commonwealth where alcohol has neither throne nor adherents, and a sentence of outlawry against every imbecile who would restore its devastating reign.

Scripture emphatically countenances, in the main, both of these interpretations, by maintaining the sinfulness and infamy of the drink habit. "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night till wine inflame them! . . . Woe unto them that are mighty to drink

wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink."[1] "Woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim, whose glorious beauty is a fading flower, which are on the head of the fat valleys of them that are overcome with wine!"[2] "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, Adultery, fornication, . . . *drunkenness*, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God."[3] Such passages could be multiplied, but these are sufficient to prove that the Holy Spirit fixes on intemperance an unmistakable moral character. According to his decision it is sin, not disease; guilt, not misfortune; an evil to be condemned, not condoned; a vice to be execrated, not extenuated.

I am apprehensive that sometimes in the sentimental philanthropy of our age this distinction is frequently overlooked. We seem inclined to accept personal and social iniquities, and the miseries consequent thereon, as inevitable and incurable, except by heaven. Consequently the deep guilt of the drunkard is not sufficiently appreciated by some Christians, and is entirely ignored by many small reformers. They are wont to speak of him as the victim of uncontrollable circumstances, while they reserve their reproaches for the men who furnish him the material for self-destruction. In their anxiety to free the party most responsible for the evil from all blame, they trace its origin and power to the stress of appetite, to the temptations of society, to the indifference of the clergy, and impliedly to the maladministration of God himself. They do not fail to pronounce

[1] Isa. 5 : 11, 22. [2] Isa. 28 : 1. [3] Gal. 5 : 19, 21.

unqualified condemnation on the liar, the robber, the murderer; but they employ different language when judging the inebriate. They exercise toward him pity rather than indignation, and suggest to him what his own conscience would never have whispered, that his habit is rather a misfortune than a sin, infirmity rather than iniquity; and thus unintentionally they confirm him in his vicious bondage. Now this incessant white-washing, dressing, and cockering of sin, instead of inexorable enmity, is a snare and a curse. The man who wittingly furnishes a drunkard with drink is vile enough to please Satan and all his impish satellites, but his wickedness detracts nothing from the crime of him who willingly becomes his victim. We have no more right to say "the poor drunkard," condoning his conduct, than we have to say "the poor robber," "the poor adulterer," "the poor murderer." Why should we fondle the former while we decry the latter? May they not all have inherited tendencies, weaknesses, infirmities? Why should the theory of disease be made so much of in the one case, and be so lightly regarded in the others? Evidently an unfair discrimination is made by some persons in favor of the drunkard as against other transgressors of God's law; but in my judgment, founded on Holy Writ, they stand on a common level of criminality; and while our pity should be equally given to all in our desire to recover them from their wickedness and misery, our firm condemnation should be equally expressed against all in the exercise of the same Christ-like desire.

I am convinced that until we see more clearly, and feel more keenly the truth of this position, the axe will

never be laid at the root of this upas tree. False premises always lead to erroneous conclusions, and these in turn result in faulty methods. Certain as this is in other moral enterprises, it is equally so in the temperance reform, where mistakes have been numerous, and sometimes costly. In proof of this, witness the lavish expenditure for inebriate asylums at Binghamton, Ward's Island, in Ontario, and Pennsylvania. These institutions originated in the theory that drunkenness is a disease to be chiefly reached by medicine. They were built to afford the so-called afflicted ones a shelter where they should be free from temptations while undergoing treatment. But they have not really succeeded in their object; and the governor of New York, in his recommendation that the asylum at Binghamton should no longer receive State support, because it was of no special utility, uttered a practical warning against erroneous views concerning the essential character of the evil we are anxious to eradicate, and from which we would deliver our fellow-beings.

To the Bible view of this curse some of the world's thinkers have added their unqualified approval. Seneca defined drunkenness as "voluntary madness"; that is, a madness not brought on by trials and temptations, but by one's own depraved self-will. Douglas Jerrold described it as "the epitome of all crime." Augustine, who had been familiar with the darker phases of human experience in his younger days, said: "Drunkenness is a flattering devil which whosoever hath no longer hath himself." And Shakespeare rivals them all in his sharp judgment: "Every inordinate cup is unblessed, and the ingredient is a devil." We may infer how deep was

this impression on the ancient nations by recalling some of the statutes they enacted for the suppression of this vice. The Locrians, under Zaleucus, made it a capital offense to drink wine if it was not mixed with water; even an invalid was not exempt from punishment unless the unmixed liquor was used by order of a physician. Pittacus, of Mitylene, made a law that he who committed an offense when drunk should suffer double the punishment which he would if sober, and Plato and Plutarch applauded this as purest wisdom. The Roman censors could expel a senator for being drunk, and take away his horse as well. The Egyptians put some limit to the quantity that might be taken at one sitting; and the Spartans imitated them. Among the Arabians, government fixed the quantity that might be swallowed at twelve glasses to a man, apparently a liberal allowance. Let us hope, for the sake of temperance, that the glasses were of small dimensions.

Lycurgus, of Thrace, went to the root of the matter by ordering the vines to be cut down, thus becoming the most radical prohibitionist known to history; and Terhulus, of Bulgaria, attempted to follow his example, A. D. 704. The ancient Indians held it lawful to kill a king when drunk. The Athenians made it a capital offense for a magistrate to be drunk, and Charlemagne decreed that judges on the bench and pleaders should attend to business fasting. Even the Scots, in the second century, doomed intoxicated magistrates to penal shame; while the Carthaginians prohibited not only the administrators of law, but governors, soldiers, and servants, from drinking. Mahomet did not spare inebriates, but ordered them to be bastinadoed with eighty

blows. Were these laws still in force, many of our public servants would be obliged either to reform their manners or retire to the quiet shades of private life. But whatever may be their inconsistency, the constant surveillance which modern governments, even the most lax, feel impelled to maintain over the trade dealing in liquor indicates that deep down, even in the official soul, which of all known souls is regarded as morally the most obtuse, there is a recognition of the criminality of intemperance. This, then, is the honest judgment of humanity.

I confess that I do not see how it could judge otherwise of a course of conduct which assaults selfhood and jeopardizes the best interests of society. A tradition declares that Jerushed, the founder of Persepolis, was the first who invented wine. He was immoderately fond of grapes, and desiring to preserve some of excellent quality, they were placed in a large vessel and lodged in a vault for future use. When the vessel was opened, the grapes had fermented, and their juice in this state was so acid that the king believed it must be poisonous, and consequently had the vessels which contained it labeled "poison." One of his favorite ladies being weary with this world and desiring to kill herself, saw the label and drank of the strange liquid. Whereupon she sank into a deep sleep. When she awoke, she confessed her imprudence to the king, and describing the effects of her potations, he had more wine made, and it was henceforward used throughout his kingdom, and was called the "delightful poison." But mark you, "*poison.*" They had wit, at least, to preserve its appropriate name.

In Carpenter's "Physiology," the fatal action of alcohol on the nerves and brain is scientifically explained. The excitement, prostration, and general shock is worse than that which springs from the use of other intoxicants. When the blood is drenched with alcohol, the brain is hardened, just as the albuminous substance in the white of an egg is solidified by the same liquid. The quickening of the heart-beats and the increased rapidity of the circulation is caused by a serious derangement of the finer nerves, and is not a sign of health, but of disease. Many drugs have what is called "local affinity," and the affinity of alcohol is for the brain, and especially for the lower or animalistic lobes. It does not excite the mental and the moral, but, confusing these, paralyzes the volitional, and excites to turbulent dominion the baser qualities of the soul. Hence the course of the wretched being thus maddened is either violent, lewd, or maudlin. He is afflicted with cramps, convulsions, partial delirium, restlessness, haggardness, a complete abolition of self-governing power, and at last moves about like an automaton without motive or purpose. Naturally enough, shocks to the system so aggravated and terrible serve to hasten the approach of death. Neison, the great English statistician, established from observations made of six thousand one hundred and eleven drunkards, that at the ages of twenty-one to thirty the mortality among them is five times, and thirty to fifty, four times as high as among temperate people; and while of six thousand one hundred and eleven people, one hundred should have died at all ages, the intemperate lost three hundred and fifty-seven. So, to state the case differently, while at twenty years of age

a healthy man has an expectation of living forty-four years, a drunkard has but the prospect of fifteen years, thus murdering himself thirty-five years before the time appointed by the Creator for the close of his earthly career.

Were this self-destruction simply physical, we might be inclined to mitigate the seeming harshness of our judgment. But it is not. It is also moral. Under the fearful self-inflicted scorpion scourge, all that is manly in the soul writhes in helpless degradation. The imagination becomes the chamber for unclean images, and the basest desires rule in turbulent defiance, not only of sovereign law, but even of common decency. For intelligence we have inanity and incoherence, for pureness we have profanity and profligacy, for faithfulness we have faithlessness and foulness, for energy we have effiminacy and effrontery, and for personal dignity we have moral deformity and mental driveling.

Happily did the old fabler, though with keenest sarcasm, represent the demoralizing metamorphosis which the wine cup effects in creatures made in God's likeness. This he portrays very vividly in his legend of Bacchus and the vine of Naxia. As Bacchus journeyed from Hellas he found a plant which pleased him, and he carried it with him. Fearing that it might wither before he reached his destination, he thrust it into a bird's skeleton, which he found by the wayside. But it grew so fast, and the heat was so great, that he saw he must have other protection for it, so he thrust it, skeleton and all, into a lion's bone; and for the same reason subsequently thrust all into the bone of an ass which lay whitening on the highway. Reaching Naxia, as the

roots of the vine could not be untwined from their strange home, he planted it with the various bones which encased it in the ground. Then sprang up the most luscious grapes, from which he made wine—and lo, a wonder! when men drank of it they at first sang like birds, then they roared valiant as lions, and when they drank more they behaved like asses.

Wise teacher he! but the asinine qualities, bad as they are, are the least harmful of those produced by modern concoctions. The poison chalice of to-day does more than to minister to inanity; it makes men act like hyenas, wolves, and tigers. In this state there is no enormity too great for the unhappy wretches to commit, no crime they may not perpetrate, and no debasement into which they may not sink. Remember that it has been proven that there is neither nourishment nor health in intoxicants, and that all the food the most capacious German swallows with his beer, if Liebig is to be believed, can be balanced on the point of a penknife. There is only in them that which leads to degradation of the moral nature, and to the greatest of iniquities.

It was said of old, and has often been repeated, that "slavery is the sum of all villainies." This is certainly true of drunkenness. The ablest jurists in the world have testified that the majority of all crimes are to be traced to its influence. One testifies that, of twenty-two case of murder, twenty-one could be attributed to this cause; and over five-eighths of all the inhabitants of our prisons are suffering because of its power. Lord Coleridge, in England, has borne similar appalling testimony. The poverty, squalor, anguish, misery, and in-

famy occasioned by it have never been told, and never will be until the angel at the last shall unroll that awful scroll whose dread record shall smite the guilty with an unending curse. Morell, Maudsley, and other authorities, have rolled up a fearful list of accusations against this vice. When the duty on spirits was removed in Norway, in 1825, between that time and 1835 insanity increased fifty per cent. Dr. Howe, of Massachusetts, testifies that out of three hundred idiots he examined one hundred and forty-five were the children of intemperate parents. In Sweden, where twenty-five million gallons of spirits are consumed, though the population is only three millions, insanity, poverty, crime, and suicide are fearfully prevalent.

These facts are but indicative of a volume of testimony which it would render the heart sick to present. Several years ago, Judge Noah Davis, in the parlors of the venerable William E. Dodge, of New York, before a respectable company, read a paper on this subject, and astounded his hearers with the awful and apparently unending record of crime and misery traceable to drunkenness. He eloquently pointed out what others have tried to do, the capital wasted, the army of men destroyed, the pauperism created, the immoralities committed, the families degraded, the brutality fostered, the prostitutes encouraged, the orphans deserted, and the asylums filled by the nefarious liquor traffic and the drinking habits of society.

But even he, though he made his hearers "sup full of horrors," did not tell half the story. No; this is a "Dark Continent" which no one mortal can explore. Stanley has penetrated the interior of Africa, and has

set before us the ignorance, savagery, and heathenism of that sorrowful land. But what pen is graphic enough to describe the jungles, malarias, scorching deserts, and cruel barbarities of this denser, viler, blacker region which we call Intemperance? What hand is there strong enough to write the details of such a continent, where murder, poverty, and madness reign? Before such a task we must all confess our inability. No human life would be long enough for such an undertaking, and not a human heart but would break before it could be well advanced. The thousands of shivering children pleading with drunken fathers; pale, frightened wives sickening and falling into early graves from the side of drunken husbands; mothers wringing their hands over thieving, cheating, drunken sons; or parents prostrate in an agony that whitens the hair and smites the heart as the death-knell rings out its mournful jubilee that at last the earth is delivered from a murderous, drunken child—would overmaster quite the bold explorer who should adventure to penetrate the miserable continent where such drear scenes are the commonplaces of every day.

Ponder what Colonel Ingersoll has said with such terrific white-heat eloquence, and with such insistency of imprecation on this terrible theme:

I do not wonder that every thoughtful man is prejudiced against this vile stuff called alcohol. Intemperance cuts down youth in its vigor and hopefulness, manhood in its strength, and age in its weakness. It breaks the father's heart, bereaves the doting mother, extinguishes natural affection, erases conjugal love, blots out filial attachment, blights parental hope, and brings premature age in sorrow to the grave. It produces weakness, not strength; sickness, not health; death, not life. It makes wives

widows, children orphans, fathers fiends, and all paupers. It feeds rheumatism, nurses gout, welcomes epidemics, invites cholera, imports pestilence, embraces consumption, covers the land with misery and crime. It engenders controversy, fosters quarrels, cherishes riots. It crowds your penitentiaries, and furnishes victims for the scaffold. It is the blood of the gambler, the element of the burglar, the prop of the highwayman, and the support of the midnight incendiary. It countenances the liar, respects the thief, esteems the blasphemer. It violates obligations, reverences fraud, hates love, scorns innocence and virtue. It incites the father to butcher the helpless offspring, and the child to grind the parricidal axe. It burns up men, consumes women, detests life, curses God, and despises heaven.

It suborns witnesses, nurses perfidy, defiles the jury box, and stains the judicial ermine. It bribes voters, disqualifies votes, corrupts elections, and endangers the government. It degrades the citizen, debases the legislator, dishonors the statesman, and disarms the patriot. It brings shame, not honor; terror, not safety; despair, not hope; misery, not happiness; and with the malevolence of a fiend calmly surveys its frightful desolation, and stained with havoc it wipes out national honor, then curses the world, and laughs at its own ruin. It does more, it murders the soul. It is the sum of all villainies, the father of all crime, the mother of abomination, the devil's best friend, and God's worst enemy.

Is it possible that any one should yield to such a vice as this and not incur personal responsibility? Knowing what it is, and what it leads to, he that dares trifle with it steeps his soul in the most awful guilt. He cannot in our day plead ignorance in extenuation, for there is no question in practical morals that has been so thoroughly discussed as this. The ravages of intemperance have been spread before the world; its subtleties, allurements, and perils have been largely exposed. There is hardly an aspect of its solemn history that has not been

examined and discussed. Parents, pastors, teachers, daily journals, societies, legislatures, have piled fact on fact, have made the most urgent personal appeals, and seem to have exhausted the resources of argument and warning to restrain men from surrendering soul and body to this vice of vices. Consequently he who, in the face of all this testimony, surrenders his manhood, literally "drinketh damnation to his own soul."

Nor can the guilty one be wholly excused on account of inherited appetite. I doubt not but that in some, perhaps in many, cases, it is exceptionally strong, and should soften harshness in our condemnation. Where such instances are made out, I certainly would not hesitate to speak the word of sympathy. But we must never forget that in the majority of cases there is no uncontrollable appetite until it has been developed by repeated acts of self-indulgence. It does not grow tyrannical until it has been catered to over and over again. And as this is done in the face of striking and radical warnings, such as sickness, disgrace, poverty, and alienation, the man who pays no heed to them cannot be counted blameless. There are very few, if any, born into this world uncursed with some native propensity to evil. Inbred, inherited, we soon discover a tendency to specific sin. If yielded to, we become licentious or dishonest or deceitful or revengeful. Society is admirably constituted to foster such natural evil bents. But are we conscious that they really extenuate our wrongdoing? Not at all. We make due allowance for the influence of ancestry; but when we have done this to the fullest extent, we feel that there is guilt involved, guilt that is mainly our own.

Moreover, we never in our courts of law, or in our homes, accept the plea on the part of the thief, that increased delight in thieving should abate one jot the penalty of the outraged law. To deal otherwise with the drunkard is to challenge the soundness of our theory of crime; it is to create confusion in the moral judgments of the race, and lead to some such conclusion as that which the materialist advocates concerning the irresponsibility of man for any portion of his conduct. There remains another fact that sweeps away the doctrine which is advanced to excuse the inebriate. He can master his appetite, whatever may be said to the contrary by foolish people. We have examples which clearly show that at every stage of its progress it may be checked and destroyed. Men have reformed, the most desperate cases have been reclaimed; and shall we concede that to be impossible which we know has frequently been accomplished? Every redeemed drunkard is a living and practical protest against the maudlin sentimentality that whines over the helplessness of the intemperate, and is a present and will be a future witness against those who make it a screen to hide them from the judgments of God.

In a number of "Sunday Afternoon," the editor says:

> Undoubtedly the wills of men do become weakened by vice. But a will that has become weak is only strengthened by using it; and you do not encourage a man to use his will by telling him that he has no will to use. . . Fallen men *are* weak, and ought to be considerately dealt with; but you can overstate that truth in such a way as to do them great injury. That error must, if possible, be avoided. They must be taught that they have moral power, and that they are responsible for the right use of what they have, and that God's grace is waiting to make up all their

deficiencies. They must be taught that a return to the ways of vice is not only unfortunate, but wicked ; that the man who has resisted temptation for five years, or one year, or one month, has proved himself to have power to resist it for a longer period, and that therefore his fall is a sign of guilt as well as weakness.

The editor condemns "the gospel of imbecility," and I do, most sincerely and with all my heart.

Let this much suffice for the flagrancy of the crime we are considering, and let us look at its prevalence. This I regard as important, because erroneous views on this point lead to discouragement or indifference. There are those among us who are alarmists, who constantly cry out that drunkenness is increasing, and the race becoming more than ever enslaved. On the other side, there are thousands who never pause long enough to take in the gigantic proportions of this vice. Permit me, then, before considering our duty, to remove the wrong impressions of both parties. I should indeed be very sorry to believe, after all the efforts of philanthropic people to remove this curse, after all that the church has done, that the world is steadily getting worse. Had I this to chronicle, I think I should call upon the church and these societies to get themselves abolished at once, or at least to abandon their endeavor, and leave the liquor scourge alone. The best argument for the abolishment of these reform movements is the cry that sometimes arises from their supporters, that the sin that they are set to curb is flaming out more furiously than ever.

This is not the case, however, with the temperance cause. It has wrought many changes ; and of the most salutary kind. Contrast our days with those of

our Saviour. Read "Juvenal," "Persius," "Horace," "Petronius," and you will find the Roman Empire full of drunkards and debauchees. The fearful rioting and abandonment they describe, let us hope, have few parallels in our times, bad though they may be.

But at a step come down to a period immeasurably nearer to our own. The aspect of things in England under Anne and the two Georges is frightful and repulsive.[1] Gin had been discovered in 1684, and about half a century later England consumed seven million gallons. The tavern-keepers, on their signboards, invited people to come and get drunk for a penny; for two pence they might get dead drunk; no questions asked and no extra charge for straw. The landlord dragged the miserable creatures who succumbed in those days into a cellar where they slept off their carouse. In our times the bartender thrusts them out to perish in mud and cold. You could not walk London streets in the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries without stumbling over persons incapable of motion, whom the care of the passers-by alone could prevent from being smothered in mud or crushed by carriage wheels. During the riots of Lord Gordon in 1780, barrels of gin were staved in and the contents turned into rivers in the streets. Children and women on their knees drank themselves to death. Some became mad, others fell down besotted, and scores were buried beneath the ruins of burning houses set afire by an excited mob.

Sidney, in his life of Sir Richard Hill, completes this picture when, noting the difference in the moral tone of society a hundred years ago, or later, he says:

[1] See Taine's "History of English Literature."

An invitation to dinner like that which was sometimes sent would be an insult now: "Mr. A. presents his compliments to Mr. B., and requests the honor of his company to dinner, and to get drunk." Fancy a party meeting in powder and pomatum, and commencing with the utmost formality of bows and dignified reserve, and ending in the master's getting up and locking the door and vowing that the company should not stir till some immense quantity of liquor had been consumed, to the utter destruction of all refinement and politeness.

This would not be tolerated in our times. When Dr. Lyman Beecher gave his energetic advocacy to the cause of temperance, the reform was sadly needed, for even the clergy were lovers of the common tippler's bottle. In his "Autobiography," he says that at the ordination of Mr. Harvey, at Goshen, Conn., "There was some hard drinking, and some complaint on account of the quantity of liquor consumed." He says that none of the preachers were drunk, but he does not deny that between the services there was much hilarity, or, as he quaintly puts the matter, "the maximum of hilarity." The liquor to conduct that ordination in cheap times cost forty dollars. Dr. Beecher traces to such scenes the origin of his indignation against intemperance. He could not have been surprised at its ravages, as his Puritan ancestors were slow to escape from its power. They had so many foes, from the pope and the king down to the Indians and the wilderness, that they did not come early to realize that strong drink was worse than they all.

Drunkenness so increased among the sons of the pious Pilgrims, that at last a blue law was enacted fining a man "who continued above half an hour tippling, two shillings and six pence; and for tipplings at un-

seasonable hours, five shillings." Alas! this vice held its own for many years, and spread among the aborigines and the early settlers. Distilleries multiplied during our early history at a fearful rate, and it needed a strong nature like Lyman Beecher, and others with him, to denounce an enemy more dangerous than musket or tomahawk. Well, the reform commenced, and in the lifetime of that man the vice of intemperance wholly withdrew from the Protestant clergy, at least from those who deserved a standing in its ranks. It gave way rapidly before reflection, and it has been gradually withdrawing from the other learned professions. We no longer identify drinking habits with brilliancy, nor expect physicians, lawyers, and authors to excel when they are in a semi-state of intoxication. Sobriety is expected now in every man who claims to minister to the higher necessities of the race. Thus, the snow-crowned mountain peaks of intellectual life have been touched by the sunrise of this reform, and it is creeping down to the humble vales of ignorance and toil, as the morning radiance first tints Mont Blanc and then bathes sweet Chamounix in light.

Yet the condition of things is bad enough, and even startling. In England the people seem to be constantly guzzling. An expert in figures declares that the villainous traffic practically imposes an annual tax on every British household of about eighteen pounds. He declares that if this tax were saved, and if allowed to accumulate with interest, it would endow every man and woman in the kingdom with an annuity of one pound a week. The waste he describes is almost incredible. Twice as much is spent in Great Britain on strong

drink as on woolen, linen, and cotton goods, and nearly twice as much as on bread, and equals the rent-roll of all its farms and residences. On this general subject "The National Temperance Almanac" (1898) testifies:

The volume of British liquors for the year is striking. In twelve months the people disposed of forty million one hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and twenty gallons of spirits, over fifteen million gallons of British wine, cider, etc., fifteen million eight hundred and sixty-one thousand two hundred and fifty-one gallons of foreign wines, and thirty-three million eight hundred and sixty-four thousand nine hundred barrels of beer. As they reckon thirty-six gallons to the barrel, the quantity of beer drunk in Great Britain in the year is a staggerer—one billion two hundred and nineteen million and eighty thousand gallons, or nearly thirty-three gallons per annum to every man, woman, and child in the country. The volume, in fact, of wine, spirits, and beer which Britishers drink in twelve months would form a miniature ocean in which several of their largest men-of-war could disport themselves with ease.

Englishmen drank thirty million two hundred and ninety-nine thousand three hundred and thirty barrels; Irishmen, two million one hundred and fifty-three thousand and eighty-four barrels; and Scotchmen, one million four hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and eighty-six barrels. These figures give to the average Englishman a consumption annually of thirty-five and five-tenths gallons, and to the average Irishman seventeen gallons, and to the average Scotchman twelve and fifteen one-hundredths gallons.

These estimates have been confirmed by a member of Parliament, Mr. T. P. Whitaker, who in a vigorous address exposed the shameless extravagance of this terrible destroyer. He said:

You spend as much money on liquor every year as would, if it were devoted to the purpose, provide for every married man amongst us on attaining sixty years of age, one hundred pounds

a year for himself and his wife, and one hundred pounds a year for every unmarried man or widower, and fifty pounds a year for every unmarried woman or widow on attaining the same age. You spend as much in this country on intoxicating liquors as is raised by imperial taxation—by our customs, our excise, our stamp duties, our property tax, and our income tax—as much as is raised by all our local rates added to them, as is spent on our post offices and on telegrams, and as much as the whole community throughout the United Kingdom pays for its gas. The whole "bag-o'-tricks" could be paid for out the Liquor Bill.

Another public man, a representative of truth and righteousness, has given an insight into this whole miserable business that rivals in chaotic horror Victor Hugo's account of Waterloo, or Zola's picture of Sedan, and that too without any effort at fine writing. He does not appeal to the imagination; neither does he try to startle by passages of bloodcurdling power. Instead of pictorial and sensational sentences, he merely groups facts, arrays them sharply, and hurls them in the teeth of those who are guilty of intemperance, and of those who grow rich on their crime. Hear his arraignment and his rebuke:

Whilst the average Englishman spends on alcohol twice as much as for bread, whilst the great coal and iron industries of this country put together represent a volume of trade only half as large as the trade in drink, and whilst the revenues of the whole of the railways of the United Kingdom, with their hundreds of millions of travelers and tons of goods, are only half the amount of the revenues for drink, so long as this goes on, social problems will continue in unabated intensity. We are told that the drink is a vast industry, employing large bodies of work-people, and to throw them out would be a serious thing. Let us look at the facts. Take the king of the brewers—it is as well to begin high—Lord Burton, raised to the "Beerage" because of the gigantic concern

he carries on at Burton under the title of Bass & Co. The capital value of their brewings sent out in one year amounts to two million four hundred thousand pounds, or nearly two and a half millions, and he pays one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds in wages and salaries. Now I know a business where it has taken twenty years to send out three million pounds value of goods, but in producing that amount (only a little more than one year of Bass' turnover), one million pounds has been paid in wages against one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds (or an eighth of the amount) at Burton ; and this is a very favorable example for the drink trade, as a gin or whisky distillery would show a contrast very much greater. Workingmen, how many of you drank two barrels of beer last year, at a cost of five pounds to six pounds in the way you buy it? Don't look startled—you did, and are very moderate drinkers too ; and this two barrels brought wages to the vast amount of less than ten shillings. You could have done with an extra suit, say at thirty-five shillings ; hat, five shillings and sixpence ; boots, ten shillings and sixpence ; a rig-out for the wife at twenty-five shilling, and the two oldest children at twelve shillings, twenty-four shillings,—and all this could have been got instead of the two barrels of beer, and the wage-earners who made them would have received about sixty-five shillings, instead of the ten shillings which the brewer's men got. Talk of new markets and developing old ones ! Here they are, enough to set all trades on full time at good wages in six months, if men could be persuaded to try it.

It is generally admitted that in the United States the temperance reform has made greater progress than in any of the European nations. Among religious people the social glass is not favored, and it has been banished from other circles where the restraining influences of the best humanitarian traditions prevail. Occasionally some clergyman of the extra-liberal order, with cigar in mouth, will count it a brave thing to defy the sentiment of the more conscientious classes by indulging in wine

at banquets, not realizing that it would be a braver thing to turn his glass upside down, and a course more in harmony with his profession, whatever may be the type of his theology, than his sanction of a custom that has filled the earth with wailings, woe, and wretchedness. John Bright, during a heated political campaign in the old country, when the clergy and the brewers were acting together, suggested that a beer barrel ought to be hoisted on every church steeple. This was an extreme position to take, for many priests who serve at the altars of the "Establishment" have been, and are, as devoted to total abstinence principles as the shepherds of other folds. But the proposal at least has this merit: it marks at once the incongruity which serious men perceive between a sacred vocation and the approval of conviviality.

It is not the church alone which condemns the tippling parson; it is also the more reflecting portion of the community. Thoughtful persons, even in fashionable society, feel that there ought to be a difference between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not; and if it does not begin at the wine bowl, they somehow fear that it will not be found elsewhere. It is very easy to call this a silly prejudice; but no one as yet has been able to answer the arguments by which it is fostered. These, however, need not be repeated here, as very rapidly pastors and preachers are coming to acknowledge their validity, and are coming as a class to combine against the drink crime and its adherents.

While they are thus arraying themselves, and while many families are following the example of Christian homes, there is still a very large portion of the commu-

nity under the spell and fascination of intoxicants. Many feasts are given where liquor forms part of the *ménu*, and where young men are tempted by their seniors. In some business houses, though the number is decreasing, patrons are treated to a quiet glass; and there yet survive in the American Republic merchants who send out their youthful clerks with plenty of money to entertain buyers when in the town, whose entertainment generally consists in theatre-going and drinking and—— Often these clerks are unable to resist the bad effect of the carousals they are appointed to manage; and parents, who sent their boys clean and sober to the counting-rooms of these heartless commercial magnates, receive them back broken in health, and broken in character and fortune. And then these sleek, usurious humbugs wonder that the indignant father and mother read with sympathy the imprecatory psalms of David, and do so with a smothered intensity which would make the craven destroyer of their child quake with fear could he hear their words and see their manner. But what would they have? They are moral murderers. Blood-stains splash their greed-cursed souls, and blood shall rise against them in the judgment. They are mean, contemptible, inexcusable. The footpad slays for a morsel of bread; the millionaire merchant casts the most inexperienced among his employees to the lions for no earthly reason than to increase his stock of the precious metal. Why hang the hungry footpad, and fawn before and flatter the overfed, callous millionaire? We are not surprised that he should object to the imprecatory psalms, and that he should savagely dispute their inspiration. Not a few godly people have sympa-

thized with his doubt until they have seen their hopes blighted, and have read the crime of the lordly trader in the shame of their sons. Then their skepticism has vanished, and they have no longer questioned but that these maledictory prayers have a right to a place in sacred literature, and an office—alas! a sad and bitter one—in human life.

Attention has been called of late to an increase of winebibbing on the part of American women. Probably the reports are exaggerated. It might be more accurate to allege that the decrease has not been so marked as has been supposed, or that they have become less mindful of public criticism, and consequently indulge, not necessarily more freely or frequently, but more openly. I think I have noticed in the large hotels a decided change in this respect. Ladies now, and more than I have observed in former years, call for their stimulants, and do so when alone or when lunching together as well as when in the society of gentlemen. They seem to have no hesitancy in drinking before the company of guests. It may be, however, that they are not much worse than their mothers and grandmothers, only a trifle more candid. On this point statistics are not available, and we can only hope that the evil is not so bad as reported. It would indeed be a climax to our misery were the mothers of the next generation to be inclined toward inebriation.

Think of it! What more terrible than to contemplate that portion of the human family, whose sufferings from intemperance have been transcendently greater, and whose maternal instincts should be arrayed against the common foe, taking sides with the demoniacal

power and welcoming the destroyer of home, happiness, and hope? What terms could measure guilt like this? But while we may hesitate to impute to our women a crime of such aggravating proportions, there are many appalling signs that our nation as a whole, though admittedly in the van, has not moved rapidly enough against the drink curse, nor brought to the conflict sufficient forces to cause its immediate suppression. At times it looks as though nothing had been accomplished, as though all the prayers and labors of heroic men and women, of the Neal Dows and the Frances Willards, had been in vain. We seem like conquerors on a field of battle, where the majority of the dead and wounded are those who fought with us or for whom we fought, and where, on the heights around us, the beaten but not vanquished hosts are massing their artillery, preparatory to a murderous discharge. The danger is not to be denied; and as we pause, with tattered standard flying above us, it is well that we reconnoitre and seek to understand our true position.

The figures are fabulous. Their very vastness almost renders them incomprehensible. They bewilder by their enormity. Their appalling magnitude is such that the mind fails to grasp it or the conscience to compass it; and after all we may say, and however accurately we may calculate, computations can only leave behind an indefinite, painful sense of shoreless enormity. A fair calculation, given by the very best authorities, gives the amount expended every year by the American people for intoxicants at twelve hundred millions of dollars; but to this is to be added the taxation imposed upon the sober portion of the community resulting from

deeds of villainy and increasing pauperism, combined with a loss of productive capital employed in business, amounting to eight hundred millions of dollars. That is, we spend, directly and indirectly, two billions for the gratification of a single appetite. Well may we ask, What deity is it that demands such incomputable sums, involving enormous sacrifices of life and happiness? At what shrine are such costly offerings laid?

If the truth is to be told, then we must admit that neither god nor altar, even though the god be Satan and the altar Hate, ever required or demanded this wholesale wretchedness and destruction. On an idle, foolish, all-consuming passion to gratify an appetite, an absurd fleshly craving inherent in beings presumably reasonable, and who claim to be separated by intellect from the brute creation—these millions in money, and, far more, these millions in hopes, joys, and honors, are annually lavished. This is what we pay in America for a tedious repetition of orgies, obscenities, and outrages; for when we examine the annals of strong drink, we find them chronicling with singular unanimity a series of betrayals, murders, robberies, and other monstrous infamies. The cruelties inflicted by the Cæsars, the sanguinary butcheries perpetrated by the Tamerlanes, the tyrannies of absolute monarchies, and the exquisite tortures inflicted by bigoted inquisitions, are surpassed each year in the accumulated horrors perpetrated by this one gigantic and despotic crime.

But this is not all that ought to be said as we contemplate the figures which we have placed before our readers. To understand their significance, it should be realized that two billions of dollars is about three hun-

dred millions more than the entire money of the United States in gold, silver, and paper, and equals the total coinage of the United States mints during the last ten years. It should also be remembered that this enormous sum would pay our funded national debt nearly three times over. It would support our government through a period of four or more years. It would build five hundred battleships, and would rear a city equal to New York every two and a half years. Perhaps we may be able the better to comprehend the significance of this inexcusable wastefulness by instituting a few comparisons.

The meat bill of the United States in round numbers amounts to nine hundred and fifteen million dollars; the tobacco bill, five hundred and twenty-five million dollars; the flour, three hundred and seventy million dollars. On public education, however, we spend only one hundred and seventy-five million dollars, and for all church expenses, the comparatively meagre sum of one hundred and fifty million dollars. It is also worthy of note that the benefactions of all churches on behalf of the extension of Christ's kingdom in other lands amounts to less than six million dollars. When it is realized how much depends upon the moral condition of the nation, it must surely excite surprise that so little money should be devoted to education and religion, and so much be devoted to dissipation. I have sometimes wondered how much of the enormous tobacco bill was incurred by members of our churches, and whether Christians do not give more for that one indulgence, and for the part they contribute toward the four hundred million dollars that are necessary to sustain amuse-

ments, than they consecrate to the support of religion and the extension of truth and righteousness throughout the habitable globe.

It costs the people of our land twenty-five million dollars for chewing gum, and it is sadly significant that religion is the next higher item in the national expense account. It is computed that fifteen gallons per capita of alcoholic beverages are consumed annually in the States. Need we, then, be surprised to learn that the cases of insanity from 1860 to 1890 have increased nearly four-fold, and that while murders in 1886 amounted to 1,449, in 1896 they amounted to ten thousand and fifty-four. It has likewise been ascertained that about thirty murders occur a day in our nation, and that a lynching takes place every other day in the year.[1] Even in Massachusetts we are far from being in a paradisiacal condition; for, according to the "Wine and Spirit Gazette and Circular," fifty thousand more barrels of beer were manufactured in our commonwealth in 1897 than in 1896; while in Pennsylvania there were one hundred and twenty-five thousand less, and in New York State two hundred and fifty thousand less. It is also stated that Boston consumes more beer per capita than either Milwaukee or Chicago.

Take these estimates, and remember that two-thirds of the crime, one-third of the idiocy and lunacy, and three-quarters of the poverty, are caused by this traffic, and do you wonder that men and women become fanat-

[1] The figures given are from the "Handbook of Prohibition Facts," Funk & Wagnalls; the "New York World's and Chicago News' Almanac"; from printed reports, "Penology, Insanity, and Inebriety"; and from the "National Temperance Almanac."

ical as they confront this evil, which they must kill or consent by it to be killed? Is it surprising that women and children hold out their hands, and with trembling voices cry to those who are strong, "Avenge us on our adversary"? Is it amazing that, despairing of help from man, they besiege God's throne day and night, sobbing in their crushing agony, "Avenge us on our adversary"? No; it is only surprising that any one can be dumb or idle or indifferent when such a curse as this reigns so fearfully triumphant in the earth, especially that any one loving the Lord Jesus Christ should be able in quietness to eat his bread and say his prayers, while the very breath of hell is shriveling up and destroying the strong and noble at his side.

Now, it is in view of the flagrancy of this crime and of its prevalence, that we come to inquire what steps should be taken for its suppression. What shall be done? Who shall do it? How shall we so combine our forces as to attain such an end?

First, we must not despair. Some, looking at the evil of intemperance, noting how wide-reaching and malignant it is, have felt it to be incurable and ineradicable. They say they can weep over its desolations, but they cannot do anything to stay them. This is a very bad condition to be in, and such stunned and paralyzed souls are of little service in the world. They are worth as much as a regiment of paralytics would be in defending our shores from invasion. But, I pray you, do not despair; God will help courageous souls. If we are bold and have faith, we shall yet save our land and the race. But if you would accomplish anything, you must not restrict your activity in this cause to the one department

of finding fault. It is easy to pick flaws in anything that is done under the sun. We fritter away much strength in everlasting quarreling. One party criticises the Murphy movement, another the Prohibition movement. Reform clubs wrangle and divide, and the whole temperance camp is filled with sounds of discord. Brethren, make the best of everything. Permit all to work in their own way, and let not one arm of the service—the cavalry, forsooth—attack the infantry, or both assault the artillery.

Again, let no honest man be neutral. When a gentleman said to Sumner that he ought to hear the other side of the slavery discussion, his answer was memorable: "On such a question as this there is no other side." Do not seem indifferent to the subject when announced. Do not stand with folded hands; for he who does so is a traitor. Not thus have any of the giant wrongs been righted. Not thus was the battle of civil liberty won; not thus was the Church emancipated from the State; not thus was slavery crushed beneath the heel of freedom in our country. He who is neutral on questions of right and wrong is practically always on the side of wrong.

Let us look at the positive side more closely; and I first contend, if drunkenness is a crime, it must be treated as such. We must press this on the attention of the guilty. Thousands of prospective inebriates would be preserved from the terrible career before them if they knew that the drunkard was ranked with the extortioner, gambler, robber, and even the murderer, in the estimation of the community. Instead of this, they now think should they become drunkards they will

be pitied and coddled as maltreated members of society. There should be laws to punish the dissipated severely. Now we put them in an asylum, and only when they are willing to go. The penitentiary for the thief and the free asylum for the intemperate. Why this difference? Are they not equally willful sinners against society? Which, think you, in reality, does the more harm? Let the law deal with him as a criminal by a judicious scale of terms of imprisonment proportioned to the frequency of his offense.

Let there be no sympathy for him, save such as may be felt for any other criminal, and only let it be expressed when it cannot encourage him in sin. Thus let him feel that he is a gross sinner, and only by speedy repentance can he regain the confidence and respect of society. Under such circumstances he will be more likely to come to himself, in the true sense, than by supposing that he is a mere unfortunate, blameless creature. More than this even, if the drunkard will not repent, if he will persevere in his iniquitous course, if he thrusts aside all loving effort in his behalf, then in my judgment he should be disfranchised; and failing in his duty to his children, they should become the wards of the State, and the labor of their father be controlled for their support. Under an administration of justice so rigorous, I am sure that the proportions of this crime would diminish; and the excuses that reduce all sin to accident, misfortune, and amiable weakness, and that utterly abolish the eternal distinctions between right and wrong, would speedily cease from the philosophy of men.

Then if intemperance is a crime, let those who pro-

mote it be accounted and treated as accessories to crime. We now speak of the drunkard maker, who is supplying him by handing the glass over the bar. These men know exactly what they are about. They are not dear innocents, desiring to refresh their fellow-beings with a harmless, healthful beverage, but they are thorough villains, ready to make their fortunes on the ruin of soul and body of thousands. The saloon is as much the gate of hell as ever the church was of heaven. The men who run it and support it are the devil's own. The law must shut up every such place. As well license a Fagin's den for the training of thieves as to license these establishments of woe. The sin must be stricken in its strongholds. They are dens of all crimes. In them there are daily quarrels and fights. In them nightly the pistol and the dagger are used. They are fountains of pollution and death. If the scenes which are enacted in the saloons and rumshops of this country in the course of one year could be revealed to our eyes just as they took place, we would stand aghast.

Over this the State throws its shield. The State allows it. The rumseller points to his license, and says: "You are all responsible for these evils; my business you have made lawful and respectable." These stews of iniquity must be abolished. If the need of it was ever felt, it is in many American cities where dens of the utmost vileness have been permitted to entrap the young. It is not necessary that I blacken these pages, or advertise wickedness by describing either the resorts or the degrading amusements in them, to which our beer-drinking youth have been drawn. It is enough to say that they owe their existence to the liquor traffic,

which is able to pay liberally for the privilege of keeping them open. Indeed, it is freely stated that before the police closed any of these places, they knew of their existence, and were silent for a consideration. This suspicion may not be warranted, but if it is not, and our force is so stupid as not to know of these festering sores in our cities, it is not deserving the trust reposed in it. Take either horn of the dilemma, and evidently a new police force, or a new governing force behind it, is the want of the hour.

If intemperance is a crime, then we should carefully purge ourselves from all responsibility for its existence and ravages. We shall never do this so long as we do not fight the rum traffic at the polls. But when we have done this our duty is not wholly fulfilled. There are conditions of society, circumstances, and surroundings favorable to intemperance. These should be studied and removed as speedily as possible. What I refer to is expressed by various writers. Thus George Combe maintains that overwork and under-feeding are among the chief causes which induce the craving for stimulants. Therefore technical knowledge must be spread that the laborer may be saved from his poorly paid drudgery, and have satisfaction somewhere else open to him than in the punch-bowl. Professor Fawcett traces this evil very largely to excessive toil and ignorance. The masses, he claims, are reared in such squalor and misery that life to them is dreary, that moral beauty has to them no existence, and wife and children sadden them in proportion to their love for them. In some trades an irritating animal, vegetable, or mineral dust produces dryness in the respiratory or-

gans and throat, creating a desire for drink. On this subject the "Westminster Review" testifies:

> While men are permitted to breathe pestilential air all their life, how can we expect the love of strong drink to abate? Shorten work, or the drooping frame will infallibly have recourse to stimulants. Give the workingmen libraries, amusements, lectures, and leisure for attendance; good and cheap newspapers have already done much to elevate the work people, and will do much more; park excursions, woods and fields, sky and open air, all elevate and improve man's better nature.

It is evident that social reform is needed. As the state of society fosters other crimes, such as fraud and theft, so does it minister to the increase of intemperance. If we would arrest its progress, if we would save future generations from its curse, we must charge ourselves with the responsibility of removing the evils which have been pointed out by the writers we have quoted.

But while we labor in this direction we should prove to the drunkard our detestation of his crime, and our desire to save him from its curse, by abstaining on our part from even the temperate use of that which degrades him. Understand me, I do not claim that he who touches drink moderately is to be confounded with the intemperate. We gain nothing by such statements, statements that will not bear the test of criticism. There is no law forbidding men to handle money, because some around them are inclined to steal, and yet it is but considerate charity for them to put as little temptation in their way as possible; and where intemperance is so common, the example of a sober man indulging must be pernicious and misleading. It is our

privilege to abstain, and honorable the man, yea, and Christlike too, who for the sake of others denies himself. If you shall argue that your moderation is really no example for the drunkard who is immoderate, and so does not imitate you, I admit the justice of your position; but then your self-denial does you no harm, and may do him much good; for he sees in it your abhorrence of a crime which is peerless in villainy.

A minister in the highlands of Scotland found one of his parishioners drunk. Next morning he called to reprove him. The guilty one confessed, but said that he did not drink as much as his parson. Expressing surprise, James explained: "You take a glass of whisky and water after dinner, and ye take another toddy just before retiring." "Yes, to help digestion and to promote sleep," said the minister. "Well," continued Jim, "that's just fourteen glasses a week, or about sixty every month. I only get paid off once a month, and then if I were to take sixty glasses they would leave me dead drunk for a week. Now, ye see the only difference is that ye *time* your drinking better than I do."

Well, that's about the view dissipated people take of moderate drinking, and while there is an illogical element in their reasoning, they press it to their own destruction. I do not confound things that differ, but I am persuaded, in view of this fearful crime, that abstinence is right. And I am furthermore satisfied that only those who subscribe to it take any real interest in the reclamation of the intemperate. An editor of "Scribner's" set forth the same view. He says in substance: Nothing can be hoped for from the gentlemanly wine-bibbers of society. They never have and

never will do anything toward the salvation of the fallen.

The church must aid in the suppression of this crime, by bringing to bear on it all of its resources. It has great power. It should uniformly maintain the abstinence doctrine, and proclaim aloud its detestation of the whole liquor business. This it is now doing, the first ecclesiastical deliverance in this country having been made on the subject by the Philadelphia Baptist Association in 1788. Since then repeated deliverances have been made by all the leading religious bodies of this country.

But alas! a daily paper reports that within the last few years a ship sailed from Boston, bound for the African coast, with eight hundred thousand gallons of rum on board and one missionary. "A slim percentage of missionary," observes the paragraphist. If this is a correct announcement, it indicates that the work of the church is not ended with its protest. There is yet need for more of the self-denying, lowly spirit of Christ to grapple with and overcome the enemy that lies at our door. The amount of time and energy usually expended by churches in extirpating this evil is not inaptly represented by this contrast between the weakness of one missionary and the strength of eight hundred thousand gallons of rum. The forces must be more equally matched if success is to crown our efforts. Every member must be a temperance reformer, and every church must extend the helping hand to every penitent who seeks to be saved.

Especially should Christian people feel this obligation; for they represent the drunkard's divinest, truest

helper—Christ. Knowing that he redeems the fallen, they should bring the penitent to his feet. From the days of the apostles to the present, the gospel has been acknowledged to possess peculiar efficacy. Did you ever seek an explanation of this fact? I have; and I am convinced that the saving power of the gospel on the intemperate is to be found in the doctrine maintained in this discussion. It proclaims his sin. This the guilty man has felt all along, but he never could break away from the habit, for its wickedness would rise up and haunt him. The horrid vision of his crime drove him to seek oblivion in its repetition; but when, in the pungency of his remorse, he sought advice, and from the gospel learned that the Saviour's blood had atoned for guilt, and that he could begin his life anew, with the past stains gone, with a future before him, he yielded to such grace and power.

If any one supposes that the remarkable efficacy of the gospel is to be accounted for on the mere supposition that it shows the wretched man what kind of life he ought to lead, he is mistaken; for what the fallen requires is a Saviour more than an example, a Redeemer more than a model, a helper more than a preacher. It is the singular moral power inherent in the idea of an atonement that succeeds. This it is that rouses the conscience, and then pacifies it; it is this that alarms and then stills the soul; it is this that awakens an ideal of righteousness, and leads the sinner toward its actualization. Unconverted, storm-tossed, passion-blinded men, in Christ is your hope! The way to him from your present condition may demand a struggle and fierce agony; but rather endure all than perish as you are. You shall find

your rest and safety in him. It is an old and beautiful Portuguese legend that traces to the influence of the Southern Cross the calm that reigns on the Pacific. Round the stormy cape the first adventurers sailed, through darkness and through tempest, but there beneath that cross of stars they saw the placid silver ocean slumbering in their light. Do you wonder that they traced this wave-subduing power to the stellar sign of their salvation?—a sign that had conquered kings and warriors. O intemperate man, there lies the blue, calm sea of peace for thee just beneath the blessed cross. Steer thy shattered bark thither, though the cold and snow lie on thy soul. Steer on! and sweeping round the cape—the cape of *Resolute Decision*, life's turning-point—thou shalt join the innumerable navies that, with whitened sails and singing breezes, beneath radiant skies make for the port of bliss.

But what more? What else?

In answer to such questions as these, we can only reply, prohibition. In the Social State there will, of course, be no necessity for any such crude legislation. I say "crude," for all laws against crime in the nature of things have never, and can never, prove absolutely effective. But in the new commonwealth there will be no necessity for any such statutes at all. The people will be so educated, their lower natures so completely under control, that it would be equally an insult to their intelligence and morality for the legislature to pass an enactment against drinking as for them to decree a measure against stealing. In the brighter days before us, when fraternism shall be realized and man shall be bound to his fellow-men by the gracious ties of brother-

hood, it will be impossible to find an individual so base as to manufacture poison, or contemptible enough to administer it to his neighbor. But at the present writing we have not attained to the Social State; we are merely struggling toward it. Much remains to be done, and particularly it is necessary to use every possible means to deliver the race from bondage to strong drink. At this stage of progress, this purpose demands the enforcement of prohibition.

The ordinary objection to this recommendation is grounded in a strong dislike on the part of many people to the introduction of ethical issues into politics. But it ought to be remembered that the friends of temperance are not the only ones who appeal to political action for advancement of their special views. It is to be noted that the saloons have grown in political power and influence during the past few years. In no previous age, and probably in no other countries than England and America, have dram-shops had so potent a voice in the direction of public affairs. This surely bodes only evil to the commonwealth; for though it may be admitted that some saloon keepers do not realize the pernicious nature of their business, and are trying personally to preserve their respectability, and though habitual drunkards are not exonerated from blame, or to be excused on the ground that the tempter gave them to drink if not to eat, the prevailing repute of the dealers and of the resorts they manage is such that their direct or indirect action on political life must be pernicious and ought to be resisted.

Making all allowance for notable exceptions, the saloon as a factor in modern society is a hotbed of vice,

a corrupter of morals, a breeder of iniquity, and the creator of shambles clotted with the blood of many victims. The deliberate judgment of the wisest jurists cries out against it; the inadequate and unenforced legislation of the most enlightened States cries out against it; the columns of every decent daily newspaper cry out against it; the church, the school, and the home cry out against it; and there is no object in the world so genuinely and generally hated and despised, even by the unhappy wretches who cannot resist its fascinations.

What can come from the portals of such a pest-house but disease and death? And when its fetid breath fills convention halls, or lurks in senate lobbies, must it not stupefy reason and stifle conscience? Its action on lawmaking and lawmakers must necessarily be deleterious and degrading; for at its heart it is essentially lawless. When a respectable remonstrance was addressed in a foremost American city to mayor and council against locating saloons in the proximity of churches and schools, it was treated with contumely and scorn. The petition was both moderate and reasonable, as was that on behalf of Sunday closing; and while his honor was in favor of the recommendations, the majority of the aldermen stood out stiffly against them, and when it was proposed as a compromise simply to enforce the State law regulating the dram-shop, these same gentlemen interposed their objection. The saloon interest would not have it so, and its supporters in the council put themselves on record as favoring the saloon as against the church, and as totally indifferent to the requirements of existing statutes. Such obstruction to good government proceeded directly from the manipulation

of the city fathers by the polluting fingers of the men who make their bread by taking the bread from the mouths of helpless children.

The lawless spirit of the rum traffic has also been displayed by the efforts of its supporters to boycott merchants who have entreated their representatives to guard the imperial interests of childhood and of womanhood. This power has grown so potent that, it seems, no voice must be allowed to speak against it and no hand be bold enough to pluck the perishing from its iron clutch. We have reached indeed a pretty pass in this land of freedom, that we must all stand in speechless awe before the symbol of this new Gessler, the foaming tankard. The intimidation that is becoming common is foreign to our institutions and the genius of liberty, and is one of the gravest dangers confronting the future of our people.

In the seventh brewers' congress it was resolved "that we find it necessary, in a business point of view, to patronize only such business men as will work hand in hand with us." Have we not here a threat? Are we not to infer from this language that these manufacturers of want and woe are seeking to arrange what the Bible would call a "covenant with death" and "agreement with hell"? One of this class in Milwaukee, in 1877, stated that the brewers of Illinois have expended ten thousand dollars to beat the prohibition party at the elections. It is well known that over a hundred thousand dollars was used by the liquor lobby at Albany to influence legislation in New York, and that these examples of corruption could easily be multiplied.

Does it not follow from these instances that the in-

terference of the saloon in public affairs is both an insult and an infamy? It stands convicted at the bar of all nations as the enemy of home, of family, of morality, industry, and religion; concessions to it on the part of politicians, or even their criminal silence, can only drag our nation down to lower depths of shame and sorrow. And yet with the saloon in politics, the objection is brought against prohibitionists that they are impairing the value of a great ethical issue by submitting its interests to the action of legislatures! But what else can be done? Let there be an agreement to banish the saloon from all political parties, and then we will be ready to consider whether it would not be wise for us also to take out of the political world the question of legal suppression.

Are our leaders so obtuse, are they so lacking in sagacity, as to be unable to perceive that the men who are standing in the nation for high morality would be false to the cause they represent were they to allow the distilleries and breweries to govern in its political life, and they make no attempt to offset their programme? The fight has been carried within the lines of the Republican and Democratic parties, and the friends of temperance are compelled by their opponents to carry the issue there likewise or to support another party, that shall wage continued warfare against their enemies. Let the national parties and municipal councils prove to the churches and our ethical leaders that they are not acting according to the dictation of the liquor traffic, and it is more than likely the plan of warfare will undergo an immediate change. Let it be understood that the friends of temperance are perfectly willing to carry

on their reform by purely moral means, if the politicians will not lend their influence and their backing, and put the whole power of the State practically at the disposal of the brewers. But as long as they cringe and fawn, and try to do the will and pleasure of the men who are ruining our nation, then no pains must be spared to defeat them at the polls every time they present themselves for the suffrages of the people.

When the subject of prohibition is mentioned, it is not unusual for some friends of free rum or of high license to speak loudly or write freely concerning its failures. They declare that it has never succeeded, and they grow eloquent in pointing out the mistakes that have been made by its advocates and supporters; but they never stop to consider that laws against other forms of immorality have been equally violated, and have never eradicated the evil against which they contend. But they must surely believe that it is wholesome for a commonwealth to have statutes against robbery and murder and other enormities; for while they may not entirely suppress the crime, they render it harder to do wrong and easier to do right. A gentleman conversing with another in regard to the education of his son said: "I have no particular sympathy with prohibition, and yet I desire that my son shall be brought up in a community where saloons are never seen"; and when his inconsistency was pointed out, he remarked: "Not at all; there is no inconsistency whatever. Where the saloons are banished, even though liquor may be sold on the sly, it is not so easy for a young man to obtain what he may crave, and moreover, as he grows up, seeing that the use of alcohol is branded

by the community as wrong, he is very apt not to touch the deadly poison until at least he has reached mature years, and when he will have acquired sufficient strength to resist its tyranny."

Failure, indeed! Certainly high license deserves to be classed with the most conspicuous of failures, for it has fostered in the center of our great communities what has contributed to the poverty and misery of the people; it has legalized that which in itself is a creator of wretchedness and crime; it has spread disease, filth, and pauperism; and all the great jurists of the world being judges, has wrought incalculable mischief to society. Of course, with the newspapers practically against the success of a law; with a number of clergymen who seem indisposed, according to the statement of one of their number, to sacrifice the value of a cigar for the advantage of humanity; and with municipal representatives combining to frustrate every effort put forth for the purification of the city, it is not at all surprising that enactments against the saloon should not have wholly accomplished their beneficent purpose.

But, notwithstanding, we maintain that in those commonwealths where prohibition has been legalized the population has enjoyed a greater measure of comfort, peace, happiness, and prosperity than where high license has prevailed. We are perfectly willing that the statistics relating to the value of prohibitory legislation shall be made the basis for its continuance or immediate rejection. If they show that inebriation has increased and pauperism extended, then unquestionably it ought no longer to be sustained; but if, on the other hand, they prove, notwithstanding defects of administration,

that the welfare of the people has been advanced, sobriety promoted, industry enlarged, and the home more highly venerated, then it should not only be maintained where it now exists, but should be extended throughout the entire republic. We are perfectly willing to abide by this decision, and until the challenge is accepted we shall continue on our way, advocating total abstinence for the individual, no license for the town, and prohibition for the commonwealth.

Possibly many of our publicists will shrug their shoulders in disdain and declare, as formerly they declared when the abrogation of slavery was under discussion, that such schemes belong to fanatics, and can never possibly command the attention of our common-sense loving citizens. But in this way they are as surely mistaken as they were when they derided the appeal of the abolitionist. Human history is making for the development of conscience, and as the social conscience becomes stronger in its convictions and clearer in its perceptions, it will bring to pass what the political cynics now disdain. They who are thinking and acting in harmony with the growing moral sense of the community can afford to be laughed at; all they have to do is to possess their souls in patience and continue their endeavors—victory is inevitable. As the stars fought against Sisera, so it will be found that every step taken in advance by economical science, as well as by Christian activity, must make for opposition to the schemes and plans of those who would continue the debasing rule of alcohol. Let them not lose heart because of mocking sneers or derisive smiles.

There was repeatedly, in the Coliseum in Rome, a

strange scene enacted for the amusement of the people. After the gladiators had fought and the wild beasts had devoured their human adversaries, and after the various sanguinary encounters had excited the emotions of the populace, including even the feelings of the privileged vestal virgins, a poor slave was called to carry an egg over the blood-stained sand through the amphitheatre, that he might lay it on an altar. It was not a long passage; indeed, in ordinary circumstances it would require but a few moments for any man to pass from the circumference to the center of the arena. The distance was short, but the poor wretch who was commissioned to perform this work knew that if the wild beasts, that were partially glutted with food, should open their heavy eyelids and see him, most likely they would spring upon him and tear him to pieces; consequently he realized that if he would succeed he must step softly and move warily; for should he in his fear break the frail object entrusted to his care, he would arouse the anger of an infuriated mob and would immediately pay the penalty of his anxiety with his life. One can easily imagine, therefore, with what writhing, with what snakelike stealthiness, the slave stepped upon his way, and how the audience must have been amused to see the poor, half-starved wretch entering upon his fearful journey. Cautiously looking round him, tremblingly, hesitatingly, the audience roared at him as at a farce. His actions excited mirth. Princes and their ladies, emperors like Nero and patricians like Petronius, would point significantly to him, because in the majority of instances their victim stumbled in his path and broke the egg, or by some indiscretion roused the wild beasts of the

forests to leap upon him and in a trice tear out his life.

Is it possible to picture a more entertaining and delicious sight, appealing to the exquisite sensibilities of the perverted throngs who boasted their aristocracy in the days of the Cæsars? But it is on record that on one occasion a man succeeded. He had gone forth with the usual fear and trembling; but he had moved quietly and steadily, and at last, reaching the center, from under his clothing he brought the egg and put it upon the altar; and the historian adds that, as he did so, men and women throughout the vast assemblage rose and rendered to him the homage of their applause.

Oftentimes the Prohibition party in America has been made the subject of much laughter. There is no party that so frequently excites the risibles, though it represents women whose hearts are bleeding, mothers who will never smile again, and graves that are the symbols of desolation in our cemeteries. It is the party that represents the tragedy of humanity. Oh, it is easy for scribblers to make fun of it, for penny-a-liners to mock it and deride it, and it is not difficult for solemn senators to joke about it and snap at it with their fingers in delighted scorn. Poor party! How they sneer at its movements! How they gibe and jeer as it seeks carefully and deftly to slip along, if possible to secure success! And yet, notwithstanding all the scorn heaped upon it, I, writing in my quiet room and looking out upon the scenes around me, charged through and through with nature's serene beauty, thinking of the outer world that lies under the spell of the terrible drink curse, though without a prophet's vision, declare

that this same obscure party, or a party growing out of it, like the old berated and derided Abolition party, shall yet carry the egg and lay it on the altar of God and humanity; and forthspringing from it shall the new liberty arise, with healing in its wings, to crown our race and world with peace and glory.

CHAPTER X

THE REDEMPTION OF CHILDHOOD

AN ancient prophet has gladdened the heart of humanity with a vision of the Social State, which reveals boys and girls playing in the streets of its cities.[1] They are presented as playing, not begging; playing, not selling newspapers; playing, and not cleaning boots or running errands, while they learn obscenity from their seniors. In the coming time they shall not fall victims to iniquity, rapacity, or barbarity. No heartless enemy shall lie in wait to destroy them, no sense of sorrow springing from poverty or savage neglect shall overwhelm them, and no feeling of loneliness or guiltiness shall hunt the joy from their souls and the sunlight from their countenances.

Even in the public thoroughfares no evil shall come nigh them. In the alleys, lanes, and streets, where now so many boys and girls are trodden under foot by the careless crowd, where so many have to seek among garbage for food, where so many shiver, homeless and houseless in the cold, and where so many become the prey of merciless villains, they shall be safe and happy, untouched by penury, unblemished by vice, and undebauched by temptation. Then shall their right to their childhood, and the rights of childhood, be held as sacred and inviolable by every class and order of society—the right to laugh, the right to be as free from care as the

[1] Zech. 8 : 5.

birds, the right not to grow prematurely old and cunning, the right to be innocent, inoffensive, and happy. And when this glad hour shall chime its music through the earth, but little, if anything, will remain to be desired; for, as sociologists everywhere concede, the treatment of infancy and of "the little ones" serves as the real barometer of civilization. Where they are outraged and abused, there barbarism yet lingers; but where they are guarded and guided, and just in proportion as they are shielded and sustained, does humanity escape from its bondage.

To determine the enlightenment, refinement, and elevation of a nation, inquire into the actual condition of the young; for as the stream never rises higher than its source, so the broad on-flowing public life of a land will never cease to be influenced by the circumstances of weal or woe which mark its beginnings. When King Solomon says: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," we imagine that facts contradict his assertion. We see how many young people who have been reared in pious families go astray, and we point to these sad cases as proof against the teaching of the monarch. But our reasoning is at fault. The king does not confine the training to the exclusive agency of home. He refers to all the instructors that have to do with the making of character in the early years. The street, current literature, the public school, the indecent posters on our city walls, as well as the Sunday-school and family, must be taken into consideration; for the man is not the product of the fireside alone, but of all the forces, good and bad, that influenced him in his childhood. Could he have

been kept intact and free from all other teachers, the mother and the father would then have had the fashioning of his mind and heart, and theirs would have been the unshared responsibility for the result.

But this is hardly possible in this age of ours. King Solomon did not err. As we are trained so will we, with very slight deflection, continue to be; and hence we return to our original position, the kind of training given to boys and girls, not by the home alone, but by the nation as a whole, fixes accurately the degree of civilization which prevails. When, therefore, it shall come to pass that the sacredness of childhood is venerated, and when its holiest rights are honored, we know that then society will have reached its perfection; and until then, and as long as it is necessary to maintain charities to prevent cruelty to children,—a benefaction that brings into painful relief the savagery that yet clings to many of our people,—it will fail to advance beyond a low, sordid, and semi-brutish type.

Christianity is the only religion that has been conscious from the beginning of a distinct mission to childhood, and of an equally distinct vocation in behalf of childhood. The pagan cults, and the mighty creeds of Buddha and Mohammed, never indicated the least concern for the welfare and happiness of infancy and youth. What to them signifies the wail of the babe, or the cry of the motherless waif? These tiny and helpless creatures were and are to them only as the perishing blossoms on the overcrowded tree of existence, not sufficiently important for a thought. As intelligence increases this unconcern will come to be regarded as the most damaging evidence of their earthly origin and

spirit. They simply vitiate their own claims, and forfeit the confidence of thoughtful people, by their indifference to the weak.

And it may also be inferred that Christian churches are not and cannot be exempt from the same rule of judgment. In proportion as they have no gospel for the little ones, and in proportion as they do not lay to heart their perils, and do not fold them to the bosom of divine love, but thrust them out to be suckled by the wolf, they obscure their own credentials and impair the hold they otherwise would have on the respect and veneration of mankind. As the world judges the heathen so will it judge the Christian. If he rejects the innocents, the world will reject him, and if he can complacently contemplate their social damnation, the world will treat with sincere contempt whatever else he may be pleased to recommend as salvation.

A deep impression of this kind appears to have laid hold on our faith in its primitive stage, and to have evoked a tender spirit and to have crowned it with a peculiar glory. Nor was this conviction born in the human heart a moment too soon; indeed, we are amazed that it should have been delayed so long, as we are now astounded at the difficulties in the way of its reaching maturity.

Glance at the deplorable condition of infants and children in the pagan world prior to the ministry of Christ, and which required many years of consecrated labor on the part of his disciples to ameliorate. At that time a vicious public sentiment prevailed regarding the rights of parents to determine whether their offspring should be allowed to live or not. In multitudes of

instances this alleged right was exercised before the babe was born. Aristotle more than countenanced it, and no law in Greece or in the Roman republic condemned it. Licentiousness, poverty, and often the vanity of women, combined with the theory that population should be restricted within definite limits, led to these massacres of the innocents.[1] Such writers as Ovid, Seneca, and Plutarch speak of this crime as notorious and reprehensible, and yet its perpetration hardly excited horror. Infanticide was likewise of frequent occurrence. Savage nomadic tribes, whose wanderings were unfavorable to the burden of children, did not hesitate to slay or expose the helpless creatures they had called into existence. As the centuries advanced, the idea obtained that these little ones were acceptable sacrifices to the gods; and furthermore, legislators like Lycurgus and Solon maintained in the interests of the commonwealth that population should be restricted, and that the deformed and diseased should painlessly be destroyed.

The Romans never legalized this terrible custom, but in the sensual days of the empire it was alarmingly common. Moreover, the Roman father had the power of life and death over his child, and while various enactments served to check its exercise, it was indulged in such a tyrannical way as often to end life, or render it a burden in early years. The parent could sell his offspring, and it can readily be imagined what such slavery involved, especially in the case of females.

Christianity from the first arrayed itself against these outrages and abominations. Its doctrines and spirit, and particularly the incarnation and infancy of Christ,

[1] Lecky's "History of Morals."

sanctified existence, and sanctified it in its beginnings as well as at its close. The church condemned wrongs inflicted on babes and minors. Infanticide before and after birth was bitterly denounced by the church, and was dealt with as a heinous sin. She took the friendless under her care. Bishops were authorized by the synod of Sardica to travel to the imperial court to intercede for orphans when their rights were imperiled. Augustine declares that they protect the orphans from the oppressions of strangers. Valentinian I., doubtless influenced by the new spirit in the world, made the rearing of children obligatory and their exposure a crime. When foundlings were discovered, the church adopted them if no one else would; and the synod of Toledo, 589, launched its anathemas against parents who killed their children to escape the trouble and cost of rearing them. Constantine had in some measure anticipated this decree by providing in the very year of his conversion, that the children of the destitute should be clothed and fed at the expense of the State. Thus gradually these defenseless beings acquired a dignity and safety unknown in former ages. Their cause became pre-eminently the cause of religion; and from that time to the present Christianity has been pledged to faithful and unremitting labors on their behalf. Institutions devoted to their protection appeared in the twelfth century; and one of them established by a monk, called Brother Guy, also cared for their instruction, and during two hundred years extended its influence over a large part of Europe. At the dawning of the Reformation Luther founded similar schools at Wittenberg, and Knox introduced them into Scotland. And

as the years have rolled by since the birth of Protestantism increasing attention has been bestowed by the church on the interests of childhood. Its training, physical comfort, and moral advancement, have enlisted the solicitude and endeavors of multitudes ; and to-day there are more agencies consecrated to its welfare than ever in the past.

Many of them, while at the first springing from the religious spirit, are not specifically religious either in their scope or aim. Christianity has given rise to many institutions and to many reforms that are not distinctively Christian, and that are sometimes arrayed against Christianity as rivals, and as if they had come into existence as a protest against its teachings and mission. The reasoning in such cases is as absurd as it would be for the rivers to disclaim all dependence on the clouds ; or for the heat in the iron which renders it malleable indignantly to resent the imputation that it was indebted to the fire ; or for the flame that arises from the coal, because the coal had been dug from the earth, to contend that in no sense did it owe anything to the sun.

But whether the kindergarten, the common school, the gymnasium, the manual training school, or other movements reformatory in character, acknowledge their relationship to the kingdom of Christ or not, they are genetically the outcome of its spirit and influence. We thank God for them. They are his gifts. And if they feel that for their development and success they should be separated from ecclesiastical control and interference, we have no ground for complaint. Sons and daughters when they come to years of maturity feel that they ought to be free from the supervision of their

parents. We do not condemn this natural desire for liberty. Yet while it is exercised we can but regard it as unnecessary that the father and mother should be disowned, particularly in terms of contumely and contempt. Whatever instrumentalities for the protection and happiness of childhood have come into being they should have ample opportunity, untrammeled by religious bodies, to accomplish their beneficent work. They are really only illustrations of the divine purpose to carry forward high designs, not exclusively through certain officials, or by the hands of one particularly agency. God still brings water from the rock in the desert as well as from the springs of the Jordan. This feature of his providence should be recognized by all parties. The church should see in every generous and enlightened measure of philanthropy beyond her own immediate activities, a co-ordinating and co-operating force for good; and every ennobling enterprise, however independent in its operations it may be, and however clear its right to act apart from ecclesiastical control, should not be ashamed to confess that but for the gracious spirit of our divine Lord in the earth it would probably never have been called into being.

While more has been done, and while more is being done, for childhood on both sides of the Atlantic than could be recited in an ordinary volume, unhappily much more remains to be undertaken if it is to be completely rescued from distress and degradation. Every age has its peculiar perils and disabilities, and our own is no exception to the rule. Material agencies have been changed for the better since the beginning of the century; but they have brought with them special hazards

to life and property. Steam, for instance, has become the marvelous bond-servant of man, and has enabled him to overcome time and distance; but often it violently bursts its restraints and destroys its master. Electricity has likewise been yoked to the car of progress; but it has proven a giant of uncertain mood, the touch of too familiar contact being sometimes resented with death. The forces that have been summoned to aid humanity in subduing the wilderness are like the ocean, in peaceful submission a beneficent friend, but in stormful revolt an implacable enemy.

But these perversions and disasters are as real on the social as on the material side of civilization. The republican institutions of ancient Rome were fruitful in calamities to the commonwealth; and it is enough to say that the Gracchi, one of the Scipios, Pompey, Cæsar, Cato, and Cicero, fell victims to their abuse, for us to realize that dangers and outrages may lurk even in liberty. There has never yet been a period of improvement and advancement which has not been darkened by shadows. And our own era has not escaped the inevitable limitations of its advantages. Its independence frequently degenerates into selfish individualism; its opportunities for enjoyment into licentiousness; its competitions into deadly feuds; its freedom into incest with brutal animalism; its wealth into irresponsible tyranny, breeding sycophancy and effeminacy among the so-called upper classes, and discontent and turbulence among the so-called lower classes; and in the horrible whirlwind and confusion childhood is grasped, and by the fierceness of their might is smitten with new and appalling evils. With one hand our age blesses

infancy and with the other crushes it out of all semblance to itself. At one moment it soothingly woos and invites, saying: Suffer the little ones to come unto me, and with the next breath it dooms them to some Herod's sword. Every now and then it assumes the form of the Saviour and embraces them in its arms; and soon after a shriek announces that it has again transformed itself into a Moloch, and is causing the "little ones" to pass through the fire.

When a visitor observes the faces of happy children playing in the gardens of the Tuilleries, or Unter den Linden in Berlin, or in Hyde Park, or on Boston Common, he can hardly realize that there should be any justification for Mrs. Browning's lamentation:

> They know the grief of man without his wisdom;
> They sink in man's despair without his calm—
> Are slaves without the liberty in Christendom,
> Are martyrs, by the pang without the palm;
> Are worn as if with age, yet unretrievingly
> The harvest of its memories cannot reap,
> Are orphans of the earthly love and heavenly.
> Let them weep! Let them weep!
>
> "How long," they say, "how long, O cruel nation,
> Will you stand, to move the world on a child's heart?
> Stifle down with mailed heel its palpitation,
> And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
> Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
> And your purple shows your path;
> But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
> Than the strong man in his wrath."

What does Mrs. Browning mean? Is this verse a mere tragical fancy, or is it a not overdrawn picture of an appalling reality? If it is the latter we may well

pause in our self-congratulations, and direct our most earnest inquiries to the means by which such ills can be remedied. I fear we must acquit the poetess of exaggeration, and convict ourselves of woful blundering, blindness, or indifference.

Unquestionably multitudes of children fall victims to the self-indulgent spirit of our times. The civilized world was never richer than it is at present, and in luxurious enjoyment may be compared with the prodigal era of the emperors in Rome, or the profligate excesses of the court of Louis XIV. in France. Wealthy people are reckless in their expenditures, and poor people are envious, and all classes seem to be dominated by the atheistic motto, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." The developments of the last century have placed more pleasures—such as they are—within the reach of the masses, and self-gratification of one kind or another has become more than ever the supreme object of existence.

A French author has published a book entitled, "The King Amuses Himself," and another might well be printed on the kindred topic, "Democracy Amuses Itself," for not only kings and princes, but parvenus and commoners are intent on being amused. Even the Sabbath is not preserved from contributing to this mania for exciting diversions. The Continent is famous for its desecration of the sacred day; the United States has moved rapidly in the same direction, and hence in several cities not only are there Sunday parties, concerts, and open beer gardens, but Sunday theatricals and base ball games as well; and England herself has not been saved from this tendency toward secularism.

It looks as if a concerted effort were being made to render serious thought of life and duty impossible, to inaugurate a saturnalia in the mad whirl of which the sense of duty and obligation shall be obliterated. The very idea of restraint and responsibility is obnoxious to the average American and European. Work is pushed with unexampled intensity, and the reaction ends in exhaustion, and panting exhaustion demands relaxation, and the relaxation in its turn becomes more exacting and imperious than ever in the past.

It is not surprising, at least to me, that among other results of this passing delirium, there should be a widespread shrinking from the cares of maternity. Motherhood necessitates withdrawal from the attractions of ballroom, race-course, and theatre; and the proper rearing of children involves no small degree of self-restraint and self-denial. Men dislike to be bothered, and women are not content to be burdened with the exclusive charge of offspring. Hence there follow in the first place unnatural crimes, which St. Malthus is invoked to justify, and which have proven the fruitful source of shame and sorrow. Of these I shall not speak, although I most heartily reprobate and condemn them. They are monstrous, and recent exposures have shown how fearfully prevalent they are. Even where excesses are not committed there is abundant evidence to show that offspring are not desired or welcomed by multitudes of married people. The little intruders are frequently farmed out, and the mortality in such cases is proof of neglect and even gross cruelty. Parents of eminent respectability, even of affluence and fashion, who keep their babes at home, hand them over to the kindness

of nurses, and bestow but scant thought on their welfare.

It is related of a child in a London mission school, that on being asked which of the commandments was most difficult to keep, he answered: "Honor thy father and thy mother." We can readily understand the reply coming from one of the poor whose dissolute parents are given to beer and cruelty. But children of some aristocrats might very properly say the same thing. What do they know of those whom they are expected to honor, but that they are in divorce courts with noble names blackened by infamy, or are idlers, loungers, heartless society people, with neither love nor interest for the helpless ones at home. Dr. Guthrie once drew a picture of a babe born in a prison, and eloquently dwelt on the hopelessness of its future. A companion-piece could be painted of an infant born in a mansion, where God is not revered, where luxury and effeminacy rule, and where the stranger is left to grow up with no affectionate oversight. What can we expect the future of such a one to be? Let the gilded, giddy, godless youth of two continents answer. Vain, shallow, stupid, or conscienceless and vicious, they plunge into pleasure, riot in licentiousness, grow old before their time, and are in every sense contemptible. Thus tyrannous and destructive is indulgence. The innocents are being physically and morally maimed and disabled by this sleek and poisonous enemy of human happiness, and by it they are being robbed of the virility indispensable to manly achievements and reputable deeds.

It is likewise true that thousands of tender children are pitiable sufferers from the drinking-customs of our

age. While this is a form of self-indulgence, it is so distinct that it is entitled to separate mention. Every philanthropist has felt a sincere admiration for such reformers as Miss Frances Willard and Lady Henry Somerset. These devoted women have endeared themselves to this generation by their consecrated labors on behalf of humanity. They have been in the front rank of those who have felt vainly the ravages of intemperance, and have perhaps done more than others to arrest their progress. While prosecuting her work in reform, Lady Henry Somerset some years ago visited the East End of London, and in her report of what she saw we have food for reflection, particularly in her references to barmaids and children.

She said:

One Saturday night I was walking down Whitechapel road, and as I went a great longing came into my heart that I could take some of the leading men of our land down into the midst of that scene. Oh, the misery, degradation, and sin that were there, all springing from the feet of this awful drink traffic, which flaunts its brazen head in undisguised iniquity on all sides, house after house vying with each other in leading men and women into deeper sin. How they make downfall easier and more certain! Not contented with the ordinary public house, they have now invented a new method—that of having an archway in the open street, with only a counter, over which drink is served to the passer-by, so that the public need open no door as they pass. All these places are served by young girls. Your hearts would have have sickened if you could have looked on those young faces. I say, Shame on us as a nation. In America the amount of drinking is enormous. But there is all honor to the nation in one respect; their feeling about children and young girls does not exist in England. You never find a native-born American girl serving as a barmaid in the States. In all the land over which wave the Stars and Stripes

you will not find young girls placed in positions of such temptation and danger. I cannot describe the horror of that scene in Whitechapel, the streets illuminated by the lights of gin palaces. There is the low theatre, which is doing the devil's work six days out of seven. These theatres are now being licensed to sell drink on Sunday, as if six days were not enough! How can I put before you the sin and misery of that scene? To see the children flocking out of those dens of sin! I state no exaggeration, no overdrawn picture. You have only to read the police reports. Last year you will find in London alone five hundred children under ten years old were taken up dead drunk, and there were fifteen hundred under fourteen, and two thousand under twenty-one.

We have reason to be grateful that what she says about barmaids in the United States is true; but we fear that we have no other cause for self-congratulation. We too have our proportion of juvenile tipplers. Various societies of the "Watch and Ward" kind have published startling statistics of the havoc wrought by strong drink on multitudes of our lads. Mr. B. F. Jacobs, the great Sunday-school leader, has directed attention to the constant efforts put forth by the New York saloons to induce minors to drink intoxicants. Elsewhere this iniquity is perpetrated. The traffickers in rum and rascality know as well as we do that as the twig is bent the tree inclines, and they therefore realize the importance of beginning early, so that the tree may incline toward their beer and whisky barrels. On the continent of Europe, travelers are familiar with the sight of parents giving their boys and girls of the stimulants they themselves imbibe. And fashionable circles in England and America frequently indulge their juvenile members in a similar way.

But Miss M. Johnson has issued a pamphlet that

gives a clearer idea of the extent to which the young are abused by the drink-demon than any other document of which we know. Her exposure applies to England, but within limits it may be taken as a picture of what is going on in other lands. She reports:

That in London for two hours one Sunday, last September, two public houses were watched, and, to say nothing of thirty-four women with children in their arms, there were counted two hundred and eighty-three children, apparently under thirteen years of age, going into these two houses with jugs or bottles, and there were two hundred and thirty boys and girls, also under thirteen years of age, without either bottles or jugs. Out of a total of two thousand two hundred and forty-six visitors to these two houses in two hours, there were five hundred and forty-seven infants and children under thirteen years of age. Again, at Leeds, in the course of one day last September, two hundred and twenty-three children were observed to leave a certain public house with drink, while at another house thirty-two children were seen to leave with drink in a quarter of an hour. One child was seen to enter another house five times in the course of an afternoon. And at Wigan a police-court missionary saw in the course of half an hour one Sunday, no less than one hundred and sixty-four children from eight to three years of age go into a licensed house and come out again with beer and sweets. "Some of them went round the corner, squatted down on the flags, looked at the sweets, and sipped some of the beer." Most of the above figures refer to children carrying liquor on Sundays; but even a sadder aspect of the case is when one sees the children of dissolute parents all days of the week, early and late, traveling time after time between the public house and their so-called homes. Quantities of spirits, besides barrels and barrels of beer, are carried by small children to parents and neighbors too drunk to stand. The publican dared not serve such people at his bar, but alas! he can serve them with pint after pint, day after day, through the children.[1]

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[1] "Christian Commonwealth," London, 1898.

What can we expect when the youth of the nations are thus systematically drugged and poisoned? In a procession of newsboys in Chicago a transparency was inscribed with this legend: "Give us half a chance and we will get there." Alas! alas! young heroes, neither the offspring of rich nor poor can have even half a chance to achieve if they are brought into bondage to the alcoholic habit.

It is related of a hermitic philosopher, Artephius, that "he invented a cabalistic magnet which possessed the extraordinary property of secretly attracting the *aura*, or mysterious spirit of human efflorescence, a prosperous bodily growth, out of young men; and these benign and healthful springs of life, he applied by his magic art to himself." Of course the young people sank under the exhausting process, and many of them died, while the cunning philosopher grew sleek and strong. Is not this legend a prophecy and a picture of the modern saloon keeper, who sells liquor to minors and rejuvenates his own body and fortune at the expense of his victims? The moral difference between the two is hardly perceptible; the one may therefore well represent the other.

Of all crimes, the crimes against childhood are the most enormous and devilish. The perpetrator knows that his victims are inexperienced, that they cannot guard themselves, and yet he will "apply hot and rebellious liquors to the blood," and smite them with a curse which can but darken their understanding and harden their heart. He commits this crime against humanity, against God in whose image it was made, against the State for whose service it should be trained, in a cold,

calculating, mercenary, Judas-like spirit. He is not deterred by the entreaties of heartbroken mothers, nor by the ruin he is recklessly carrying to many hearths; no, he must have his thirty pieces of silver, whoever may have to suffer. Multiply this human monster by hundreds, his prey by thousands, and add to drunkenness instruction in all the arts of subterranean villainy, and you may form to yourselves a picture of the tremendous evils to which our youth are exposed. These evils have been appreciated by our lawmakers to some extent, and they have provided for the punishment of those who corrupt our youth. Citizens' Leagues, however, assure us that this provision has been as a dead letter on our statute books, and that the authorities have been conveniently blind to its violation. If they are correct, and the statistics which they publish allow no doubt on the subject, then the entire power of the church, its influence, its votes, should be devoted to the renovation of the executive. It cannot fail to protest against official indifference, or fail to make the protest operative without incurring the guilt of innocent blood. No political ties, no party devotion, can excuse a Christian man for deliberately assisting to elect an official who will fail to enforce with the utmost rigor all laws enacted for the safety of children.

But the child is not merely the victim of those who deal in the murderous stuff which has corrupted the currents of social life; for there are innumerable testimonies which prove that he likewise continually suffers at the hands of those who use it habitually. Entire families have been extirpated by drunkenness. Whisky seems to set the enraged wild beast free, and its

rage usually seeks the most gentle and tender for its prey. In that fearful story, "With Fire and Sword," we have Cossack or Slav claiming prisoners "to play with," the play being nothing else than the subjecting of the unhappy wretch to the process of flaying, or impaling, or the twisting of his joints, his contortions, writhings, groans, and curses in the meanwhile affording amusement to his torturer. And in numberless cases strong drink produces a kindred sense of pleasure in making helpless beings suffer. Shrieks, entreaties, agonies, yield the most ecstatic and exquisite satisfaction. Terrible it is, but true.

I have in my possession sundry and divers papers issued by the "London Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children," which furnish instructive if not pleasant reading. There are printed accounts of strappings, whippings, and torturings; of unwanted babies neglected till they die; of puny lads compelled by blows to carry flatirons up and downstairs until they are exhausted; of others sent out to beg and returning to be starved and scourged, lashed and thrashed by so-called fathers and mothers, who seem to take delight in seeing the white skin grow red and black, to mark the quivering of the flesh beneath the whip or rope, and hear the piteous wail and moan. These monsters can rarely be punished according to their deserts. They have a legal right to chastise their children, a right grounded, we are told, in the Scripture—and who shall indict them for abusing their right? Read the reports of these organizations in England, and even in America, where representatives have investigated these outrages, and you will find that the large majority of them are

ascribed to the liquor habit. The love of drink it was that led an unnatural mother to drag about with her in "merrie England" a consumptive child, obtaining money from the compassionate by exhibiting his sufferings—holding him before starting out on her journey an hour in water to render him more deplorable. Nor could technical legal guilt be brought home to her. And it would also have failed in the case of a man who kicked a tiny girl from town to town, saying, "Go on, you little devil," had not one kick proved too many, and the grieved spirit of the four-year-old taken its flight—on, on, beyond the boundaries of the empire to that land where parental rights are unknown.

Gin, whisky, brandy—these are the tyrants that are at large among our much-praised Anglo-Saxons and Saxon-Americans—beating, pounding, degrading the young life; and to the present hour society, while expressing horror and effecting some reforms, is so anxious to guard the rights of parents and publicans that in a very real sense it puts minors beyond its protection, and only notices their woes when they are happily dead. Such is the present condition of civilization, and we call it Christian! Heaven pardon the insult!

Nor is this all. The youth of both sexes feel the claws of the secularism which has now for several years threatened the spiritual ideals of society. That the "science of worldly interests" has occupied a commanding position during this century few persons will dispute; and though I believe its supremacy is doomed, its aggressiveness and strength are yet such as to occasion solicitude if not alarm. We have all been advised to "make the most of this world"; and we have all

heard the saying, "one world at a time," and "we know not whether there be any other." It is true that this cynical materialism is not now quite so fashionable as it was; and yet it still discloses its presence where least expected, and in ways the most offensive. While it has been expelled from many of the churches, as the Master excluded the money-changers from the temple, it nevertheless survives beside more altars than we like to acknowledge. There are fashionable congregations that are kept together by money, and whose sole business apparently is to display the finery money can buy. They have no spiritual, or even rational, excuse for their existence. Everything is for show, and for the most contemptible of shows—the exclusiveness and arrogance of affluence. They not only seek not the good of others, they seek not even their own. The singing must be artistic, although it may stifle devotion; and the praying must be precise, though it help no soul into fellowship with God; and as for the preaching, it must primarily be short, and the farther it departs from thoroughness and grasp, and the nearer it comes to imbecility and drivel, the more acceptable it is to those who are above everything else worshipers of the golden calf. These are the so-called religious communities where the admission of one rich man into membership occasions more jubilation than the conversion of ninety and nine poor men; and these are the sanctuaries where the presence of the lowly and homeless is resented as an intrusion, and where pastors are cruelly set aside when they are particularly successful in "binding up the broken-hearted," and when the "common people hear them gladly."

When the church, or rather a portion of the church, has become thus hopelessly secular, why should we be surprised that large sections of society have grown thoroughly, selfishly, desperately worldly? If companies of reputable Christians indicate a mercenary disposition in all that they do and seek to accomplish; if gain and the possession of gain are uppermost in their plans and methods, is it not natural for those who make no pious pretences to strive for the riches of earth, and in the fury of their passion to trample beneath their feet right, honor, and weakness? The reign of this spirit, as yet far from ended, has wrought manifold disasters, chief of which is the tendency to deaden the moral sense of mankind. Criticising its predominance in France, M. Macé, late of the Detective Department, writes:

> To form children's minds God has been banished from schools, hospitals, prisons, and books; and atheism has been preached everywhere. Young people are becoming impudent, impious, and insulting, and despite the talk of progress and reform, vice goes on increasing with alarming rapidity.[1]

This radical rejection of spiritual things has been paralleled in Victoria, and that too for the purpose of conserving the good-will of the Jews. In deference to these religionists the name of Jesus Christ must not be mentioned in the schools; and the authorities have gone so far as to eliminate from "Nelson's Reader" passages that referred to our Saviour. This is making friends with Herod over the form of the betrayed and outraged Redeemer. When a community will falsify history for the sake of preserving the conditions that make for suc-

[1] "*Mes Lundis en Prison.*"

cessful trade it has fallen low indeed. Where this is done, where the thirty pieces of silver are prized more highly than the truth, there will surely follow ethical confusion and irretrievable moral bankruptcy.

A tract entitled, "The Child of the English Savage" (London, 1888), brings out in most striking manner the dehumanizing effects of this secularized conscience. It describes a British workman who was reading Tyndall's "Floating Matter of the Air" when arrested. He had caned a fifteen-months-old baby; he had throttled another, and he loudly claimed the right to do as he willed with his own. This is an extreme case, but it illustrates a natural drift. Having abandoned religion, fathers and mothers are frequently indifferent to the well-being of their offspring, even if they are not positively cruel. As the secularized conscience has grown, especially the religious training of childhood has been neglected or rudely denounced. The anarchists of Chicago merely took the initiative and led where others would delight to follow, and where thousands follow without knowing it. They inaugurated an anarchical Sabbath-school. But how much better are the citizens among our population who keep their children away from Christian schools, or do not encourage them to think of anything higher than the possessions and pleasures of earth? Alike they rob the young of the spiritual universe, shut them up to coarse material environments, stunt their growth, pervert their nature, and then, to cap the climax, draft them into the great army of labor, where they become prematurely old, and often wither and die.

This crime against childhood, this fatal blunder from

which all society suffers, and which the new sociology denounces, I lay at the door of the secularized conscience; and if the age is awaking to the enormity of the wickedness and the stupendousness of the folly, it is because conscience is becoming more enlightened, and is gradually escaping from thraldom to unmitigated sordidness. The process may be slow, and it may require "line upon line and precept upon precept" to hasten complete emancipation; but it is encouraging to know that a reaction has begun. And if anything can accelerate its pace, surely a realization of what is involved in child labor should serve both as whip and spur. Remember that children are engaged in many pursuits and in large numbers. They clean shoes, sell papers, and hawk goods on the streets. They serve in stores, act as cash boys and girls, run with telegraph messages, and wait in business offices. While the trades are not easily open to them, and while it is difficult for American lads to obtain the opportunity to learn any of the handicrafts, they are sought for factory work, and they are introduced into manufactories for the purpose of lowering wages that goods may be produced cheaply. In this way they are used to drive their own parents out of employment, and thus, having first been their competitors, they have to become the support of their parents.

And this substitution of the child for the adult is announced as being in accord with sound principles of political economy. The policy is advocated by managers of mills, who generally indentify their own selfish interests, and who imagine that immediate returns of large dividends on the stock issued must promote their own

interests, with the highest sociological wisdom. Neither would this class of shallow but stubborn opinionists be converted though one arose from the dead. And yet they ought to know that low wages means a low type of civilization, and that a declining civilization means a decreasing demand for such goods as they produce. They ought also to remember that the unnatural rivalry on the part of children with their parents deprives them of the advantages of home training, tends also to their mental and physical deterioration, and if continued must inevitably lead to an inferior style of manhood in coming generations. Moreover, they should have wit enough to discern that the substitution of the child for the adult casts multitudes of able-bodied men in idleness on the streets; and as they must live, they prey upon society, stealing what they ought to have an opportunity to earn. In this way we develop the mighty army of tramps, the crowds of sharpers and scamps, the hosts of bummers, tipplers, and thieves, who directly or indirectly plunder the entire community, increasing the taxes that bear heavily on the citizen for increased police protection, and for the multiplication of almshouses, prisons, and asylums.

Were a number of children equal to the total number of the adult population now out of employment sustained by the State, the advantages over the present condition of things would be real and lasting. As the wards of the commonwealth they would be trained, developed, educated mentally, morally, and physically, while the men, now a threat to the well-being of society, would be gaining in self-respect and in industrious habits. Would it not be wiser to provide for minors

than to support their seniors who are existing in enforced idleness? And may it not be that the evils which come to the nation from the competition of children in the labor market is God's way of re-affirming and vindicating their right to the possession of their early years, free from the burdens of toil and from the cares of self-support? But however this question may be answered, it is clear from these evils that the boasted economics of the gentlemen who hold to the value of juvenile operatives is entirely at fault.

They may reply that the policy seems to work well in the Southern States, and that its adoption there is one of the chief reasons why manufacturers of that region are pressing hard those of the North, and may ultimately compel them to close their doors. "So long as infants are permitted to work in the mills," says Mr. Coolidge, the Washington correspondent of "The Journal," "the Southern manufacturers will have an advantage in labor cost which the Northern manufacturers can hardly hope to neutralize; and so long as children are wage-earners their parents are less likely to agitate for fewer hours and more pay." Unquestionably this is true. But the leaders on the southern side of Mason's and Dixon's line have never been remarkable for their insight into economical conditions. Time was when they insisted that slave-labor was necessary to the development and prosperity of their section. Facts have overthrown that theory, and when their tramps increase, and when they begin to reap the other mischievous results of their present experiment, they will learn that in the long run it will not pay to depart from the fundamental principles of political economy even though

temporarily they may cripple their Northern competitors.

But we are not to suppose that our neighbors of the South are necessarily sinners above all others. While in the matter of the manufacture of cotton goods they stand out conspicuous as the employers of child labor, they are far from being the only transgressors. Some figures on this general subject from the pen of Dr. E. W. Bemis, are grave enough to be quoted here:

> The number of males over sixteen engaged in manufacturing in 1880 was two million nineteen thousand and thirty-five, an increase in ten years of 24.97 per cent. The number of females over fifteen was five hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and thirty-nine, an increase in the same time of 64.2 per cent., and of children one hundred and eighty-one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, an increase of 58.79 per cent. . . The employment of women in all gainful occupations is increasing fifty per cent. faster than the population, or than the employment of men, and the same is true to still greater degree of the employment of children, save in the very few States which have stringent factory laws and make any genuine effort to enforce them.[1]

Mark two things: That child labor has been increasing in the United States, and that genuine efforts to enforce factory laws are not always put forth. In the same direction we learn that in England juveniles may be engaged as half-timers from the age of ten to fourteen, and may be employed as full-timers at thirteen, if they have passed the fourth standard of school work. Provisions are thus made for the purpose of securing to them the benefit of elementary education; but in Great

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[1] "Workingmen in United States," "Encyclopædia Britannica," American edition.

Britain, as in America, most of these regulations are disregarded. The "Children's Aid Society" of New York, reports that the employment of boys and girls under thirteen years of age, though contrary to law, is commonly practised in our country. Testimonies in the same direction could easily be multiplied. They are not necessary. But this disposition to evade the most wholesome of statutes is not creditable either to the intelligence or integrity of the world's two foremost nations. The sacrifice of the young carries with it increased taxation and insecurity to property; it breeds discontent among the conscript army of adult idlers and prepares the way for insurrections; and it deranges business, disorganizes households, breaks up the home, and permits sons and daughters to advance in years with no reverence for parents, ending very likely in reverence for neither law nor commonwealth. And yet merchants and traders usually clear-headed, and not without a sense of honesty, are so blinded by their love of gain as to break down the barriers designed to arrest these evils. Surely at this point their sagacity fails them, and their conscience sleeps when it ought to be most alert.

When reputable employers condescend to grow rich through means which corrupt and crush the young, it is not strange that disreputable wretches should abuse helpless infancy for their own nefarious purposes. They have a notable example, and material for self-extenuation, before their eyes. In principle there is very little difference between their conduct and the conduct of mill-owners and manufacturers. Both classes have determined that defenseless children shall be made

money-earners for them. They do not carry out their purpose in the same way, yet nevertheless they are one in aim, and the more gentlemanly operator naturally encourages the more rascally. In all lands there are multitudes of parents who have decided that their flesh and blood shall contribute to their support, and if in no other way, at least by vagrancy. They train their offspring in the arts of beggary, diversified by stealing, and send them out to plunder the community.

In London eleven thousand parents were deprived of the custody of their children in one year for this offense, a striking illustration of its inveteracy and extent. And repeatedly sad instances occur of the inhumanity of these taskmasters. One lad after a long day's tramp dared not go home as he had collected only ninepence, and his father expected him to bring a shilling. He knew that he would be mercilessly scourged for his failure, and in his forlorn condition he appealed to the authorities for protection. Parents are not infrequently brought into the courts charged with the crime of torturing and even maiming mere babes, that their pitiable plight may excite the commiseration of the public. Sometimes these cruelties are inflicted—and even less guarded methods are employed—to extinguish life itself, that a paltry insurance may be secured, for which cupidity, not love, has taken pains to provide. A few pennies a week paid into a company will procure a policy worth some five pounds to meet funeral expenses, and this meagre accumulation more than once has proven a temptation to murder.

This monstrous iniquity we fear is more extensive than society dreams, and is as possible in one commun-

ity as in another. Here in America we have had women arrested and condemned for assuming the care of unwelcome babes, whose secreted bones when discovered have told the story of their fate. Even in Massachusetts, one of the most humane of commonwealths, the agents of the "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children," investigated in 1897 six thousand one hundred and ninety-seven cases of wrongs and abuses inflicted on children; and over and over again the press of other States has made public the terrible sufferings of boys and girls who have been tortured by stepfathers and stepmothers, because they have not earned sufficient money abroad, or have not drudged with sufficient energy at home to please them. When such stories smite our eyes and wound our ears, we confess to a shuddering sense of shame that atrocities of this character are perpetrated daily where Christian civilization has attained its largest development. That the barbarities of the Turk toward the Armenian, and of the Spanish toward the *reconcentrados*, should be practically reproduced in England and America is enough to bring the blush to every honest face, and a feeling of fiery indignation to every humane heart. But we shall come far short of our duty if we remain content with an overflowing of righteous emotion. More than this is demanded. It is imperative that every lover of Christ, every friend of those whom he loves and pities, should throw himself freely and fully into the great work of redemption—the redemption of childhood, which Christianity began twenty centuries ago, and which is far, very far, from being completed now.

To do this the home must be elevated to its true

place in the economy of child-life. Without its enlightened assistance little, if anything, can be accomplished. As it is the first in order of nature, so it is first in order of power. The child bears its imprint in after life, and is never entirely freed from its influence. Consequently one of the most important duties of the church is to deepen everywhere the sense of parental responsibility, and to increase the efficacy of family government. Unless this is done, and done very thoroughly, all other efforts to save the children will prove abortive, just as incurable bitterness in the springs of a river will effectually counteract every attempt permanently to sweeten its waters farther on its way to the sea.

The church should seek to create homes where now only human lairs and dens exist; she should enter dwellings where ignorance and degradation prevail, and impart adequate ideas of fatherly and motherly obligations; yea, she should set before her own households the highest and noblest models, that the outside world may be stimulated to imitate their excellence. There is more need for such labors than many suppose. It is a sad fact that in some families reported respectable, the younger members learn immorality from their seniors, and acquire their first lessons in vice from the conduct of those who should be consecrated to virtue. The father is dissipated, the mother a butterfly of society, whose life is one long slavery to its whims, and the charge of their offspring, distasteful to themselves, is committed to irresponsible and incompetent persons. The impression made upon the children is, that their arrival in this world was inopportune, and their continuance in it an inconvenience. If they receive parental

attention at all, it is mainly in the direction of manners not of morals; of refinement not of religion; of propriety not of piety. They are taught the arts of fashionable society, but the sterling qualities of manhood and womanhood are treated as matters of inferior moment. At an age when they require quiet and repose, they are introduced into gay company, are excited by theatrical exhibitions, and poisoned by the foul air of crowded rooms; and when these murderous excesses work out their inevitable results, surprise is expressed that the children of such cultivated people should become reprobates, or that death should so speedily mark them for its own.

In other households the ruling passion is love of gain. Business absorbs the time and energy of the father, and is the supreme solicitude of the mother. They surrender themselves to exacting and murderous toil in their haste to be rich, forgetting that nature slowly elaborates her most perfect works, takes a hundred years to mature the oak and a thousand the arolla, and that fortunes thus slowly accumulated, like such trees, will be able better to resist the storm than those of mushroom growth. This spirit is inimical to the well-being of childhood. When it prevails, parents have little heart in the duties of home. The father is weary and fretful, the mother anxious and peevish, and both are too fully occupied with their idols to concern themselves with their boys and girls, save to hurry them off to school in the morning and hustle them into bed in the evening. Such neglect is the principle source of evil. It imperceptibly acts upon the character of the children. Allowed to develop as they please, and breathing a

mercenary atmosphere, they become sordid and selfish, or wayward and wasteful.

Let us not, however, suppose that there are no nominally Christian housholds whose temper and management are fairly open to criticism. Such households, unfortunately, are only too numerous ; nor is it probable that one can be found entirely free from defect. Hannah More ventures the assertion: "That when the children of pious parents turn out ill it will generally be found that some mistake, some neglect, or some fault is chargeable on the parents, and that they have not used the right methods." And yet it is not to be overlooked that the best efforts, and the most conscientious endeavors are sometimes neutralized by forces of evil inherent in the child's nature, or emanating from companions with whom it can hardly refrain from associating. Allowances must be made for counter-influences when we are criticising parents; and yet they should not be permitted to blind us to palpable defects in household government. Some of them rule with too much severity, and impose too harsh a discipline. Bishop Patrick noticed this in his day, and wrote: "That the ready way to make the mind of youth go awry is to lace them too hard, by denying them their just freedom"; and Dr. Holmes curiously illustrates the absurdity of this course by comparing it with that pursued by certain Indians, who seem to have regarded a flat head as essential to beauty, and in consequence strapped down the papoose's brains; and he argues that as the papooses will tear off the bandages, so the children of pious parents will ultimately rend away the holy compresses that unduly restrict their liberty.

This reaction is not unnatural. Wearisome prayers monotonously drawled, religious platitudes unceasingly repeated, innocent pleasures arbitrarily proscribed, social enjoyments ascetically denounced, youthful mirthfulness dyspeptically condemned, can hardly fail to create a deep and settled aversion to the cause in whose name this morbid melancholy is enforced. But, on the other hand, discipline may be too lax. The Christian parent may be so frivolous, so worldly minded, so heedless of duty, and so utterly indifferent to the spiritual welfare of his child as to deprive himself of moral power. His flippant criticisms of sacred things, his genial pleasantries about religious experience, his free and easy treatment of church obligations, can but tend to lessen the dignity and reality of Christianity in the eyes of those who instinctively look upon him as their guide. Such looseness may do more damage than the sternest type of Puritanism. Permit me to suggest the avoidance of either extreme, and in addition the wisdom of making each child in the family a particular study. No two are alike, and the differences between them call for corresponding differences in their training. A perfect astronomy requires a complete knowledge of each star; a comprehensive botany, a thorough acquaintance with each type of flower; a consummate zoölogy, a close intimacy with every form of animal life; and so an efficient household government demands a clear insight into the temperament and tendencies of the individual souls that are subject to its authority. If the exigencies of science demand so much, is it reasonable to conclude that the necessities of humanity can dispense with less?

In rescuing childhood from the power of evil, we should also enlist the co-operation of the State. From earliest times, well-ordered governments have assumed a kind of property right in children. In Sparta this claim was distinctly asserted; and running through modern social science there is a recognition of its legitimacy. The States of Europe and America alike agree in acknowledging by provisions made for popular education, by enactments regulating the labor of minors, and by laws forbidding the corruption of youth, the responsibility for the well-being of their future citizens. This interference is defended on the ground that, as these minors must be entrusted ultimately with political powers, and as character is fundamental to public security and prosperity, the nation, in its own defense and for its own perpetuity, must shield them from demoralizing influences. The principle on which this guardianship proceeds is sound enough, but the extent and manner of its application have provoked considerable controversy, and have led to divers conclusions. These I shall not attempt to review, but instead, briefly point out what course I have come to believe the State might pursue, and what measures it should adopt for the benefit of childhood.

In my judgment, it is of the first importance that the advantages of education be made available to every child in the land. But this will never be accomplished by the common school system as it now stands. The system, as far as it goes, is well enough, but it does not go far enough. If internal improvements are not required, and surely no thoughtful person would claim as much, it demands for its efficiency supplementary measures of

a radical nature. Look at the facts in the case. There are districts in our country where common schools hardly exist, if at all. In these dreary regions the people are generally ignorant and poor, and have neither public spirit nor resources for their rigorous maintenance. But even where schools are most flourishing, how many difficulties are in the way of their success! Poverty keeps thousands from their privileges. If the door is not shut against them, practically it is not open. Multitudes of children too young to be burdened with labor, are deprived of schooling because they have not comfortable clothing, and cannot be persuaded to jostle their raggedness against the respectable apparel of others.

Now is it not possible to do something to remedy these evils? Cannot measures be enacted that will reduce these obstacles to an uninjurious minimum? They are surely not beyond the reach of judicious legislation? Is it not feasible to forbid entirely the employment of young children in any kind of labor and rigidly to enforce the prohibition? It certainly is practicable; and were even existing laws on this subject faithfully executed the labor market would not be overcrowded as it is, and the consequent advance in wages would enable the parent to send his children to school. In cases that would remain untouched by such legislation, cases of absolute destitution, caused by sickness, death, or unavoidable calamity, I would have the relief more direct.

Under such circumstances the commonwealth should assist the parent, not merely as now in furnishing books, but in providing clothing as well. Other assistance even might judiciously be extended, and in such a man-

ner as to impair neither the ambition of the parent nor the self-reliance of the child. But when the heads of the family are totally corrupt, when they have made themselves drunken imbeciles or worthless criminals, their unhappy offspring should not be abandoned to their fiendish care. The strong hand of law should interpose. Helpless infancy should be delivered from their clutches and be provided for at the public expense. Such wretched children should be reared as the wards of government, and so reared that in the coming years they may be fully qualified to perform intelligently the duties of citizenship. Is it suggested that such a policy would be an interference with the rights of parents? Rights! Abuse not that sacred name! What rights remain to those degraded creatures who have rendered themselves unfit for the discharge of duties which these very rights imply? They themselves have trampled their rights in the mire of their filthiness, and I only plead that they shall not be permitted to complete the outrage by trampling under their foul feet the rights of childhood as well. Possibly such a measure as this would rouse them to a sense of their degradation, and if a spark of fatherly or motherly feeling remained it would so rouse them. But whether advantageous to them or not, it would be so to the nation. It would diminish vice and crime by arresting them at their source, and as a consequence would materially decrease the burden of taxation and elevate the moral tone of our citizenship.

It only remains for me to add that the necessities of childhood demand on the part of the church increased efforts to multiply Sabbath-schools, and render those

that exist more and more efficient. The importance of the religious element in the training of youth is acknowledged on every side. It was the deep sense of this that led Cousin, the French eclectic philosopher, to write "that schools without religion would probably do more harm than good." Under this impression Schleiermacher congratulated the Germans in 1817, "that in their national schools pious emotions were not suppressed." Peel and Gladstone have argued for its presence in educational methods, and De Tocqueville has hazarded the assertion "that none but religious people can bear liberty," a sentiment that has found an echo in the organic law of nearly every State in our Union. But what institution among us can supplement the instructions of home and contribute to the religious training of children? Evidently not the common schools. They are entirely secular; and it is a mistake to suppose that the hasty reading of a few verses in the Bible and the utterance of a brief prayer would change their character in the least. It is, of course, gratifying to pious Protestants to have sacred things recognized in this way, and personally I should be inclined to perpetuate the arrangement, but we cannot surely believe that it exhausts the significance of religion in education. I for one do not so believe, and while I would not thrust the Bible out of the schoolhouse, I do not attach enough importance to its presence there to induce me to labor for its retention at too serious a cost. If its presence prevents the cordial support of the common-school system, let it go. Better that it should be withdrawn, especially when its service is infinitesimal, than that it should imperil a

system which has proved so beneficial to the commonwealth by alienating thousands of good citizens from its support.

God has furnished the church with other means for the religious training of children—the Sabbath-school. It is a remarkable fact that this institution originated at the time education was beginning to be secularized. When it is evident that gradually the schools would be separated from all direct connection with religion God provided a substitute. And I am surprised that our Roman Catholic friends have not learned from this providence how to treat the educational problem with more wisdom than they are now displaying. Instead of trying to break down the common-school system in the interests of their faith, they should rather avail themselves of its advantages, and correct what they regard as its defects by multiplying means fitted to that end. Let them devote more of their Sabbath hours to their children's instruction in their belief and fewer to amusements and they will have little of evil to apprehend. This advice we, at least, as Protestants should follow. Instead of fretting and worrying that the State schools are not so piously ordered as we could wish, let us apply ourselves vigorously to the extension and improvement of our Sunday-schools.

All good citizens should be grateful that these centers of Christian light have multiplied already as the stars of heaven. They are strewn through city, town, and hamlet, as the starry hosts which spangle and glorify the sky. True, they are not of equal magnitude nor of equal lustre, but neither are the stellar orbs of the same size and brightness. Yet taken together they pour upon

the dark ways of mankind a flood of illuminating splendor. And when it is remembered that they owe their origin to voluntary and uncompensated labor, and that they are maintained in the same unselfish manner, and that indeed, were it necessary to pay salaries to the superintendents and teachers they could not be sustained at all, their number and efficiency ought to challenge the respect and admiration of society.

These words of appreciation are penned with no desire to ignore the defects of many schools, nor in any way to hide the imperfections of the institution as a whole. No one claims that improvement is not possible and even necessary. This admission is no more damaging to the dignity and usefulness of the Sunday-school than the similar acknowledgment that the administration of the commonwealth leaves much to be desired, or that the management of colleges and the direction of churches are not all they might be, invalidates the value of the one or the grandeur of the other. A popular journal has published within the past few months a long editorial on "The Decay of the Sunday-school." Its criticisms at some points were not altogether unfair and are entitled to candid consideration. But its generalizations and conclusions were neither just nor tenable. Everything decays only to be renewed. These divine operations seem to be parts of a common process indispensable to the maintenance of existence. The leaves decay, but the tree lives on. Mountains, we are told, decay, are constantly wearing away, and yet they are apparently as high as ever they were. It is even more than suspected that the globe itself, as it whirls on its way through space, suffers abrasion from

contact with the atmosphere and loses heat continually; and yet it remains a not altogether uncomfortable habitation and fully large enough for all the pressing needs of its increasing population. An apostle assures us that while "the outer man perishes, the inward man is renewed day by day." But we renew only what has previously decayed. We infer then that the decay of the Sunday-school is not unlike that which takes place in the earth itself, not an alarming process; and resembles that which is going on in the mind, the fulfillment of a law by which an entity is rejuvenated and reinvigorated.

Undoubtedly there are reforms that are imperatively and immediately demanded. The time has come when the distinctive character of the Sunday-school should be that of a school and not of a church. Devoutness, of course, should pervade its sessions, but its teachers should be teachers and not preachers, and its members should be primarily scholars, and not a body of silent and unquestioning hearers. On the other hand, its superintendent ought not to be, as he now not infrequently is, a noisy director, like some turbulent dealer in wheat on the Board of Trade, whose own disorder destroys all reverence and fatally impairs discipline. He should be always master of himself, and he should be sufficiently educated himself to command the respectful attention of those over whom he is called to preside. Moreover, he should be so far familiar with methods of teaching as to know how to grade the scholars, and how to judge the qualifications of those who desire to be instructors.

It has been said so frequently that the proceedings

of the school should be brief, cheery, smart, and sparkling, that no one may relish the suggestion that they ought also to be distinguished by exactness, thoroughness, and veraciousness. By the latter term I mean the honest performance of what is professed to be done; not always, by the way, an easy task. In the craze to be short, sharp, and spicy, some schools lose all sense of deliberation and seriousness. They seem to be in breathless haste to get through their work. They fairly pant with impatience, and it is not improbable that much of the teaching under such conditions becomes superficial and even silly. The most notable deficiency in their constitution and administration is the manifest absence of all real authority. They are composed of those who come together of their own option, and as they were free to come they generally feel free to have their own way, and failing this are free to go. Consequently the superintendent is embarrassed from the outset. If he does not take those who offer themselves as teachers he will incur their displeasure and that of their friends; and then if he does not yield to their whims as to the location of their classes, or as to other details regarding teachings or collections, he will probably lose their support, to say nothing of their good will.

Scholars are equally independent, and often act in a turbulent manner. They frequently arrive after the session has commenced, depart before it has ended, and sometimes demoralize the whole class by their antics and extravagances. The comparative ignorance on Bible subjects of multitudes who have passed through the Sunday-school is evidence of the slight attention

they gave to their teachers. They were not restrained, they were not held amenable to discipline, and their opportunities for self-improvement were neglected and frittered away. There is apparently no authority anywhere to lead to better results. Parents, as a rule, are not disposed to exact the same docility on the part of their children in religious education which they are aware is demanded in secular instruction. They have been known to coax and plead with their boys and girls, and to pay them when the aim has been to reconcile them to the tuition given on the Sabbath; and as they have not pursued the same course when dealing with week-day studies, the children themselves have discerned the difference, and hence they have given only frivolous attention to the former while they have earnestly devoted themselves to the latter. In the mood engendered by this discrimination they are not likely to yield cheerful obedience in the Sunday-school; and if they are reproved by its officers they are encouraged to answer back, for they are quick to perceive that if their relations become too strained for comfort their parents will surely take their part in rudely severing them.

Nor is this weakness in the family counteracted by some corresponding strength in the church. We hesitate to write it, yet it ought to be stated, in numerous instances churches as organized bodies have no vital connection with the schools which are called by their name, and which carry on their functions within the precincts of the property they have devoted to religious uses. Members of the churches, of their own volition have created the schools, and they superintend them, and that is about all the connection that exists between

them. They are to all intents and purposes independent of each other. As a result there is frequently undue sensitiveness and nervous apprehension of interference on both sides. The church sometimes lives in constant fear of the school, dreading lest its officers become offended, and they and their friends withdraw their subscriptions from her treasury, if they are not permitted to do as they please; and the school as frequently informs the church that she must keep her hands off its affairs and mind her own business; and in some extreme cases the pastor has received a quiet intimation, or an intimation not altogether quiet, that his counsel is not desired, and that he ought strictly to confine himself to the shepherding of the sheep, and leave the feeding of the lambs to those who have assumed their care. Knowing he is hardly welcome, anxious to avoid strife, and equally anxious to preserve his own self-respect, he absents himself from the sessions of the school, and generations of children grow up without experiencing anything of that pastoral oversight which went far toward shaping the strong and enlightened characters of an earlier race of disciples. Freed from all surveillance the Sunday-school follows its own sweet will. Usually it commits its affairs to those who are very young, and who are supposed to be particularly well qualified if they are sharp and smart, and old people who have real knowledge are set aside, are not generally wanted or welcomed as fellow-laborers.

It proceeds then quite independently, establishing missions here, or supporting a missionary there, or sending youths to prepare for the ministry, with no regard for concert of plan and action with the church, and,

indeed, making itself to be a church in everything except the administration of ordinances. No wonder that in attempting so many things the real purpose of its existence should be neglected, and its successes should be more remarkable in other directions than in teaching; and no wonder that having ignored the authority of the church, its own authority should be so lightly esteemed by its pupils.

Considering these transparent defects, the achievements of the Sunday-school are extraordinary and commendable. But if so much has been done by faulty methods, how much more might be wrought were they improved? The direction in which true reform lies has been pointed out by the line taken in these friendly criticisms. More need not be written. Christian people cannot afford, when so much depends on the redemption of childhood, to neglect the remedies that are within their reach. But if anything in addition to what has been set forth in this chapter is necessary to prove the insufficiency of the means employed by Church and State alike to rescue childhood from its foes, and if additional motive to energetic and enlightened action is really needed, they are both furnished in the appalling representations of the Rev. Mr. Morrison, for many years a prison chaplain, that there is a startling increase of crime committed by persons under age, both in England and in the United States.[1] We trust that this singular deviation from rectitude constitutes but a temporary phase of social history, and will soon terminate. But its existence is at the same time a revelation and a warning—a revelation of failure, and a warning not to

[1] "Juvenile Offenders."

be content with what is now being done on behalf of the young.

Mr. Morrison asserts, and upholds his assertion by figures, that on the continent of Europe the age most liable to crime is between twenty and thirty, while in Great Britain and America it seems to hover in the neighborhood of sixteen. In explaining this phenomenon, while in some degree attributing it to intemperance, he lays it mainly at the door of physical and mental inferiority, engendered by the hard conditions under which many children are born, and to which they are doomed by the neglect of the commonwealth and the apathy of the church. He says that an exceedingly large proportion of juvenile offenders sent to reformatories are stunted in growth, weigh less than they ought to weigh, and suffer from defects in mind and body, which predispose them to wrong-doing. Only fifteen per cent. of the inmates of such institutions come from comfortable surroundings, and from surroundings where decency was observed and where religious advantages were available. How, in view of such facts, society can continue unmoved and satisfied, it is difficult to understand.

We are in the presence of a great peril and of a great wrong. The peril may be briefly defined as that of social degeneration through human deterioration, and the wrong may be summed up in the failure to deliver childhood from its adversaries. If the danger is to be averted, then no time must be lost in applying social and religious solvents to the child problem, and in seeking by righting the wrong to be forever clear from "the blood of the innocents."

The young lambs are bleating in the meadows ;
  The young birds are chirping in their nest ;
The young fawns are playing with the shadows ;
  The young flowers are blowing toward the west—
But the young, young children, O my brothers,
  They are weeping bitterly !
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
  In the country of the free.

. . . . . .

Go out, children, from the mine and from the city—
  Sing out, children, as the little thrushes do—
Pluck your handfuls of the meadow-cowslips pretty—
  Laugh aloud to feel your fingers let them through.

CHAPTER XI

THE SOCIAL VALUE OF LIBERTY

ON July 14, 1789, the terrible Bastille surrendered to the Parisian proletariat turned patriotic. That event, which startled every European capital, meant more than the fall of an odious prison. It denoted not an insurrection, but as Duke de Liancourt told his sovereign, Louis XVI., it signified a revolution. It did more than open dark dungeons to heaven's light, warming the emaciated bodies of wretched sufferers, and gladdening their hearts; it prepared the way for the emancipation of humanity everywhere, and for the illumination of the popular mind which has already proven one of the most notable achievements of our age.

The French Revolution was inevitable. No earthly power or wisdom could have averted the political and social catastrophe which it precipitated. From the days of Bossuet it had been anticipated. Leibnitz traced in advance its general outlines. Christophe de Beaumont beheld it, and portrayed it in a vision. Rousseau, one of its immediate harbingers foresaw some of its surprising developments; and the only apprehension entertained by De Mably, 1784, and by other sympathizers who afterward became leaders, was that enough virtue did not then exist in France to make it speedily possible. And yet, virtue or no virtue, it was already at hand, and while misgivings were being expressed, its thunderous roar was rousing the Faubourg of Saint-

Antoine. But when it came it was not merely a mad passion beating against the impregnable towers—the Tower of the Well, the Tower of Liberty (what mockery in a name), the Tower of La Berthaudière, and the rest of the grim fortress. It was something more overwhelming than this. It was the exhaustion of patience, the fury of hunger, the revolt of submission, the crucifixion of privilege, the resurrection of freedom. It was at once a burial and a birth: the burial of a detested and detestable memory; the birth of a glorious principle. The foundation stones of liberty are the graves of inequality and injustice, and consequently the French Revolution was a movement that began the construction of a new social edifice on the tombs of prerogative and irresponsible power. Naturally we condemn the savagery which accompanied it, and the brutal excesses by which it was characterized, but let us not forget to reprobate likewise the villainies which rendered it imperative. Michelet asks: "What are the twelve thousand men guillotined to the millions of men butchered, hung, broken on the wheel, to that pyramid of burning stakes, to those masses of burnt flesh," which the nobles and the Inquisition "had piled up to heaven"? Well does he suggest that "it were better not to stir this ocean of blood."

To the student of history the French Revolution marks a supreme crisis in human affairs, a turning-point, a parting of the ways from which dates the rise of free institutions on the continent of Europe. But it should be remembered that this upheaval was not local. It was only violently symptomatic of a widespread social and political irruption which was then

changing the face of the civilized world, and which was to be felt with more or less distinctness on both sides of the Atlantic throughout the present century. The American Colonies had been compelled by the aggressions of England to assert their independence in 1776; and two months before the fall of the Bastille, Washington had been inaugurated president according to the terms of the new Constitution, which had just been adopted. Thus, while France in 1789 was breaking irrevocably with the past and with feudalism, America was organizing the future and fraternism.

And in England the spirit of the new era was not asleep, but alert and active. It was there beginning to fashion the instruments of its industrial progress. Arkwright had introduced the spinning-jenny in 1776 (significant date); and when the tocsin was being rung over Paris on that memorable fourteenth of July, Watts was puzzling his brain with the problem of steam, the final solution of which a few years later began a revolution worthy to rank with that which commenced with the firing of Caussidière's cannon and the ineffectual sputtering of Santerre's turpentine and phosphorus. Moreover, just before the Bastille succumbed to the Parisian patriots, the voice of philanthropy in Great Britain protested earnestly against the slave-trade. This was in 1788; and the voice was that of another harbinger crying in the wilderness: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord"; and from the time when it sounded ominously in the ears of those who trafficked in human flesh to the present, it has deepened the sentiment:

> As he died to make men holy,
> Let us die to make men free.

These were some of the original eddyings which started the wider and ever-enlarging circles of modern freedom. Since then chattel slavery has been abolished in the West Indies, in the United States, and in Russia. Republics have sprung up in South America and in France. Legal disabilities and unfair discriminations growing out of religion, race, or rank have been abolished in England, while the right of suffrage has been extended within her borders. Under the inspiring leadership of Daniel O'Connell, in 1829, the emancipation of Catholics was proclaimed ; and during the service of Gladstone in the premiership of Great Britain, barriers that had hindered them and the Jews from attaining to the highest official stations were removed. To some extent government in Germany has felt the touch of the liberalizing trend of events and of speculations. Italy has disenthralled herself from the Roman Church, that church whose superstitions and exactions have depleted and pauperized Spain, blighted the Philippines, and degraded Cuba, and whose maleficent influence on social progress has been summed up in these thrilling sentences by Ernest Jones :

You have been told that the church in the Dark Ages was the preserver of learning, the patron of science, and the friend of freedom. The preserver of learning in the Dark Ages ? It was the church that made these ages dark. The preserver of learning ! Yes, as the worm-eaten oak chest preserves a manuscript. No more thanks to them than to the rats for not devouring its pages. It was the Republics of Italy and the Saracens of Spain that preserved learning, and it was the church that trod out the light of those Italian republics. The patron of science ! What ? When they burned Savonarola and Bruno, imprisoned Galileo, persecuted Columbus, and mutilated Abelard ? The friend of

freedom! What? When they crushed the republics of the South, pressed the Netherlands like the vintage in a wine-kelter, girdled Switzerland with a belt of fire and steel, banded the crowned tyrants of Europe against the Reformers of Germany, and launched Claverhouse against the Covenanters of Scotland? The friend of freedom! When they hedged kings with a divinity? Their superstitions alone upheld the rotten fabric of oppression. Their superstitions alone turned the indignant freeman into a willing slave and made men bow to the hell they created here by the hope of heaven they could not insure hereafter. There is nothing so corrupt that the papacy has not befriended, and but one gleam of sunshine flashes across the black picture, in the architecture of its churches, the painting of its aisles, and the music of its choirs.[1]

From this mistress of darkness, this mother of barbarities perpetrated in the name of faith, Italy has emancipated herself. And still the good work goes on. The beacon fires of liberty are being kindled in the West and they are being fanned into a blaze in the far East. Soon the horizon of the world will be filled with their light.

Though hearts brood o'er the Past, our eyes
With smiling Futures glisten;
For, lo! Our day bursts up the skies!
Lean out our souls and listen!
The world is rolling Freedom's way,
And ripening with her sorrow:
Take heart! Who bears the cross to-day
Shall wear the crown to-morrow.[2]

Yes; there is decline in war, decline in despotism, decline in theocracy, decline in slavery, decline in the scaffold. The sword-blade grows shorter, the tiara is fading away, the crown is vulgar-

[1] "Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life," George Jacob Holyoake, Vol. II., p. 560.

[2] Gerald Massey.

ized, war abased, usurpation is circumscribed, shackles are growing lighter, the rack is out of joint. . . A stammering which to-morrow will be speech, and the day after to-morrow a gospel, proceeds from the bruised lips of the serf, of the vassal, of the laboring man, of the pariah. The gag is breaking between the teeth of the human race. The patient human race has had enough of the path of sorrow and refuses to go farther.[1]

Addressing General Dumas, Napoleon Bonaparte is reported to have inquired sneeringly: "General, you are, I think, one of the imbeciles who believed in liberty?" "Yes, sire," replied the bluff, brave soldier, "and I believe in her still." And why not? Do we ask why the emperor should have propounded so absurd a question? But to him, and to many of his contemporaries, and even to not a few of our own, the question is pre-eminently a sane one. He more than doubted the beneficence and the political advantage of what we call liberty. And there are quite a number of educated people in these times who share his skepticism. Never does an outbreak occur, and never is an outrage committed in a republic without some one challenging the sufficiency and desirability of free institutions. Similar or even graver enormities may be perpetrated under monarchical governments, and no suggestion of their being a failure will ever find expression from the lips of publicists or from the pen of journalists. It seems to be taken for granted that regal, aristocratic rule has through many centuries demonstrated its eminent fitness to control and bless mankind; while that of the people has always been open to suspicion, and can hardly hope to succeed. The implication involved in

[1] Victor Hugo.

the criticisms is that democrats are experimenting in the face of inevitable failure; and that it would be wise to abandon their foolish schemes, and return to the benign and uplifting administration of a Louis XIV., a Charles II., a Napoleon III., a William II., or some other notable, who presumes to reign wrongfully in the name of "divine right."

Gratefully should we turn from these base prejudices to the straightforward defense of liberty which Mr. Gladstone has left on record. Conversing with a friend about the changes through which his own political opinions had passed, he said:

> There is one great fact which, as I often say, is the key to all these changes. I was educated to regard liberty as an evil; I have learned to regard it as a good. That is a formula which sufficiently explains all the changes of my political convictions. Excepting in that particular, I am not conscious of having changed much. I love antiquity, for instance, quite as much as I used to do. I have never been a lover of change, nor do I regard it as a good in itself. Liberty, however, is a good in itself, and the growing recognition of that is the key to all these changes of which you speak.

The statesman is right. "Liberty is a good in itself." And if it is not, then we have the pathetically thrilling picture of humanity from the beginning striving, suffering, dying—sacrificing itself for that which is not bread, and for that which satisfieth not. We witness it the victim of a splendid hallucination, and on the battle-fields of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Sempach, Lützen, Bunker Hill, Gettysburg, behold it sanctifying this illusion with the blood of heroes. It is incredible that the race from the early Romans to the Germans, from the

Germans to the Swiss, from the Swiss to the English, and from the English to the American,—and indeed, in our day to Latins and Asiatics as well,—could have been so fatally deluded. The very violence of such an assumption discredits it; and notwithstanding the supercilious tones of some modern patricians it is extremely foolish.

If we turn to the annals of liberty we shall read, on almost every page recording its progress, of some positive boon which it has striven to confer on society. We do not deny that sad instances of excesses and perversions will be found also forming part of the story. But these, however numerous and appalling, cannot hide the fact that the onward march of freedom has generally been connected with some practical and wide-reaching reform, either contemplated only, or contemplated and achieved. As is well known, Menzel[1] traces its origin to the ancient Germans, the greatness of whose souls was so admired by the Emperor Titus as excelling the greatness of their bodily stature. Likewise, Montesquieu wrote: "Liberty, that loving thing, was discovered in the wild forests of Germany," a theory Lucan held sixteen centuries before his day. It is not necessary for us to subscribe to the historical exactness of this position. There are reasons for believing that liberty was not exclusively native to the Hercynian forests or to the Alpine sublimities of Berne and Unterwalden; but there are no reasons for disputing the concessions of Gibbon and Hume, who alike attribute to its influence, emanating from these regions many of the distinguishing and elevating features of modern civilization.

[1] "German History," S. 8.

"If our part of the world," writes the Scotch skeptic, "maintains sentiments of liberty, honor, equity, and valor superior to the rest of mankind, it owes these advantages to the seeds implanted by generous barbarians"; and Gibbon ascribes to their rude institutions the original principles of English laws and manners. If these laws and manners are worth anything, and if the virtues named by Hume are precious, then it follows that the freedom which fostered them must mean much and must mean benignly to the race.

Other illustrations and evidences of its inestimable value are furnished in almost every age and by nearly every distinctive people. One of its earliest conflicts resulted in the overthrow of kingship in Greece and the inauguration of the Archonate, an office held by Solon, under whose administration a constitution was given to Athens, where philosophy, poetry, and art were cultivated, the triumphs of which have served as the seed-germs of higher civilization everywhere. If the tree is to be judged by its fruits, then the tree that bore such marvels of wisdom and beauty must surely be entitled to honor and be worthy of a home in all lands.

And as the grandeur of Rome was most manifest when the people were at the height of their freedom, so Lord Macaulay attributes the origin of England's real greatness to that memorable act of emancipation known as Magna Charta, which King John signed at Runnymede, June 15, 1216. What the rights and privileges secured by this charter signified to the social life of that period, and indeed have meant to English society ever since, may be determined from some of its provisions. Thus it declares that: "No freeman shall be taken, or

imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or anyways injured; nor shall we sentence, nor allow him to be sentenced, unless by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." Moreover, it is expressly guaranteed: "We will sell to no man, we will not deny or delay to any man, right or justice." The charter likewise confirmed the liberties of the church, recognized the right of the owners of personal property to dispose of the same, confirmed the municipal privileges of London, and secured to other communities many important advantages. This great instrument, the gift of freedom to mankind, indicates very clearly that the character and ministry of the donor are a fount of purest blessings. It ought, however, to be said that while this is transparently manifest to the candid student of history, it has been more than challenged by the papacy. Indeed, Innocent III. condemned Magna Charta. These are his words:

> We, on the part of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the authority of his apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own and by the common counsel of our brethren, reprobate utterly and condemn such document, and forbid under anathema the king from presuming to observe, the barons with their accomplices from urging him to observe it, and the charter and its guarantees and all things passed through it or for it, we make of no effect and cancel, that never at any time it should be established.[1]

Similar in tone, if not in phraseology, is the famous Encyclical of Pio Nono in our day denouncing the achievements and the plans of liberty as delirious ravings. These violent vaporings are singularly out of keeping with the more recent coquetting of Romanism with

[1] "London Quarterly Review," 1875, Vol. CXXXVIII., p. 566.

republics. At present she seems willing to wear the Phrygian cap over the triple crown and to render homage to the *sans-culottic demos*. Evidently she desires the past to be forgotten. She poses as the sincere friend of political emancipation; and at times she talks so eloquently about the rights of man that she seems to have convinced herself that their possession and enjoyment must in some inconceivable way be due entirely to her influence. But however she may protest, smile, and assume, her real spirit shines in the words of Innocent III. and Pio Nono. She has always antagonized liberty. She has impeded its progress; and she has never sided with it until she has fully realized that resistance was no longer possible, and that she had more to gain from its subordination to her own aggrandizement than from open hostility to its advancement. A change of policy is not proof of a change of heart. A church that blesses with equal grace the soldiers of Spain and those of America, and has never said a word in reprobation of the cruelties perpetuated by her sons in Cuba, is altogether too much of a trimmer for the friends of freedom to confide in her gushing asseverations of devotion to the rights of man. Judged by her opposition to Magna Charta, and perceiving how numerous and radical are the benefits that instrument has conferred on the race, we have no hesitation in claiming that liberty has proven a greater good to society than the Roman Catholic Church. Witness to the justice of this conviction the terrible and unanswerable arraignment of the papacy from the lips of Victor Hugo:

> You claim the liberty of teaching. Stop! be sincere; let us understand the liberty which you claim. It is the liberty of not

teaching. You wish us to give you the people to instruct. Very well. Let us see your pupils. Let us see those you have produced. What have you done for Italy? What have you done for Spain? Thanks to you, Italy . . . mother of genius and of nations, which has spread over the universe all the most brilliant marvels of poetry and the arts ; Italy, which has taught mankind to read, now knows not how to read ! Yes, Italy is, of all the states of Europe, that where the smallest number of natives know how to read. Spain, magnificently endowed ; Spain, which received from the Romans her first civilization, from the Arabs her second civilization, from Providence, and in spite of you, a world, America ; Spain, thanks to you, to your yoke of stupor, which is a yoke of degradation and decay, Spain has lost this secret power which it had from the Romans ; this genius of art which it had from the Arabs ; this world which it had from God ; and in exchange for all that you have made it lose, it has received from you—the Inquisition. This is what you have done for two great nations. What do you wish to do for France? The same.

Whenever liberty has been disdained and banished, wretchedness and decay have inevitably prevailed. Sterility followed the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., in Spain. Their successors, Philip III. and Philip IV., ruled over a dying people. It was then that enormous taxes were levied, that commerce was prostrated, and that the population began to decline. Free inquiry then was suppressed, independent thought was proscribed. Despotism formed an alliance with the Inquisition, and between them the mighty colossus of the peninsula was doomed to destruction. Ignorance, intolerance, inequality, and injustice were the poison weeds that flourished under the smiting heat of this perfectly natural conjunction. Out of seventeen million people that survive their curse, eleven million are said to be utterly devoid of even rudimentary education. And as the eye follows

this mass of benighted creatures, traces the hopeless proportions of the nation's poverty, observes the secession of colony after colony, and reads the stories of the unparalleled incompetency and corruption of officials, a corruption so profound that it plunged Spain into a war for which it was totally unprepared, and for which it was unprepared because the money patriotically voted for defense had been misapplied to personal interests, a fair idea can be formed of the blighting, withering, and devastating action of tyranny. Temporal prosperity, individual happiness, and even national stability and grandeur, are the prices paid for the privilege of existing under the scepter of throned absolutism.

But, on the other hand, where liberty is in the ascendant, what then? Why, then the glorious careers of Hampden, Cromwell, Sir Harry Vane, Milton, Algernon Sydney, and the Pilgrims and Puritans, and through them the precious victories which have made Great Britain and the United States the two most progressive, affluent, and enlighted countries in the world. What has liberty done? Let America answer; and let the answer have full weight in determining the social value of liberty to all lands. The contrast between what she is in 1898, and what she was a hundred years ago, presents a picture of the most astounding development, and one well calculated to bewilder by its brilliancy. During the century oceans have been joined by iron roads, mountains have been pierced by tunnels or have been rifled of untold treasures of gold and silver; science and letters have multiplied their conquests, and the sum of human happiness has reached a higher point than elsewhere in the earth.

In the United States there are eighty thousand school libraries, with over fifty millions of books—twelve millions more than in all the public libraries of Europe combined. Americans read and support as many newspapers as England, Germany, and France together.[1]

The population within the territory of the great republic has increased during the century from four millions to seventy. At the beginning of this period we had only one city of between forty thousand and seventy thousand inhabitants, but now we have more than seventy. We have at present more than two hundred thousand public schools, possessing property exceeding in value two hundred and fifty million dollars, and caring for some seventeen million pupils. Over four million agricultural toilers cultivate our fields; over twelve thousand periodicals are scattered through city, town, hamlet, and lonely ranch; and over two hundred thousand miles of railroad tracks furnish the highways for the transportation of over five hundred million travelers annually. But after all, these figures, and others like them, tell only in the crudest fashion what has been achieved under the ægis and by the inspiration of liberty. What language can convey an adequate conception of American civilization as a whole, of its spirit as well as its body, of its life as well as its form? We can tabulate the number of its magnificently endowed seats of learning; we can give the statistics of its splendid church edifices, and we can set in order and classify its gigantic industries and comprehensive enterprises; but no language can impart a just idea of its superb conquests, of its patient mastery of material obstacles, or

[1] "Christian Commonwealth."

of the intelligence it has developed, the heroism it has stimulated, and the common citizenship it has promoted out of alien and discordant races. Nathaniel Ames, in 1758, foresaw and prophetically announced the coming transformation of this continent, and eloquently exclaimed: "O ye unborn inhabitants of America. . . . when your eyes behold the sun after he has rolled the seasons round for two or three centuries more, you will know that in Anno Domini 1758 we dreamed of your times." Yes, but the vision has been fulfilled long before the prophet dared to expect. The new civilization, born of liberty, has wrought its marvels not only on the seaboard, but has rolled westward, causing "the wilderness to rejoice and the desert to blossom as the rose." That magnificent region, that new world in the heart of the new world, and immeasurably larger than the old world, with its two million one hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and thirty-five square miles of field and prairies, of mountain range and rocky steeps, "with its seven hundred and eighty-five thousand square miles of arable lands, six hundred and forty-five thousand square miles of grazing lands, its two hundred and fifty thousand square miles of timber land, and its four hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles which seem to be useless," but which hide from sight, while exciting the enterprise and curiosity of the adventurous, untold treasures of gold, silver, lead, iron and coal, bewildering in its magnitude and stupendous in its far-reaching possibilities, has been captured and subdued.

But this conquest, so easily announced, transcends in importance to humanity the triumphs of military force over many embattled hosts. What it means to the

present generation is not easily computed; what it signifies to future ages transcends the power of thought to comprehend. No pencil can adequately portray what is in effect a mighty continent. No coloring, however vivid, can reproduce the solemn majesty of its inland seas, the sublime solitude and terrifying savageness of its granite fastnesses, the painful and desolating purity of its snow-shrouded plains, the mysterious silence and eloquent stillness of its primeval forests, or the sweet music and sunny laughter of its silvery brooks, the deep dyes and fragrant breath of its wayside and hillside flowers, or the rich luxuriousness, of its fields freighted with a nation's food, whose yellow beauty, gleaming in the light is earth's grateful answer to the boundless affluence of heaven's golden sun. Neither can sagacity, however far-seeing, nor imagination, however keen and swift, penetrate its gloomy caverns and precious coffers and compute the hidden wealth from which the unborn millions shall fashion the latest, and as we fondly believe, the noblest forms of civilized life. And this mighty empire has been overcome, and has been compelled to yield of its affluence to mankind by liberty, and by the spirit emanating from liberty.

In saying this we do not in the least disparage the agency of religion, education, or industry, in bringing to pass the wonderful changes we have described—far from it. And yet it should not be overlooked that the efficiency of these forces depends very largely on their emancipation from the arbitrary surveillance of centralized political and ecclesiastical authority. For them to do their best they must be enlarged, they must be taken out of bondage, and they must be allowed the broadest

possible field for the exercise of their activities. We, therefore, do not rob them of any honor due to them and to their services, when we attribute so much of actual good in the world's life to what has manifestly facilitated the accomplishment of their own benign and helpful ministries.

But what is liberty? What is this regnant virtue, this molding force, to which society seems so immeasurably indebted, and whose actual value we are seeking to ascertain? It has been variously defined. Roman statesmen used to say that "it is the power of doing what is not forbidden by law." In the same direction writes Lieber: "The highest amount of liberty comes to signify the safest guarantees of undisturbed legitimate action, and the most efficient checks against undue interference."[1] Daniel Webster likewise confirms this exposition when he lays down the doctrine: "The first object of a free people is the preservation of their liberties, and liberty is only to be preserved by maintaining constitutional restraints and just decisions of political power." To which agrees Milton's verse:

> This is true liberty, when free-born men,
> Having to advise the public, may speak free,
> Which he who can and will, deserves high praise,
> Who neither can nor will may hold his peace;
> What can be juster in a State than this?

If these instructors are to be followed, then the great maxim which De Tocqueville declared is the basis of the American commonwealth, must be accepted as underlying freedom itself: "Providence has given to every

[1] "Civil Liberty and Self-Government."

human being the degree of reason necessary to direct himself in the affairs which interest him exclusively." If the average man is an imbecile, if he is unequal to his own care, then it would always be requisite to have a political or some other kind of guardian over him. But liberty assumes that this is not his deplorable condition, and takes for granted that he is fitted to look after his own welfare. Consequently, it affirms that the individual has a right to the largest possible degree of independent personal thought and action. But why possible? Why imply a limit? Because the freedom from restraint which one individual claims, all others have a right to enjoy. But what if the two domains shall collide? What if they impinge on each other? There is manifestly a necessary boundary to individual independence; and it is reached when it invades and circumscribes the independence of a neighbor. In maintaining my freedom I must not enslave my brother. Liberty is not emancipated from obligation; and it is not lifted above the honor due to the inalienable rights of mankind. Were it entirely untrammeled, then it would degenerate into reckless self-will and into unrestrained licentiousness. Hence, the best definitions of its nature always comprehend the idea of law, of regulation, its scope being usually determined by the principle of equal privileges to all. By this it has always been distinguished among the Anglo-Saxons. This has been revealed in the entire constitutional history of Great Britain, and from the beginning in North America the same conception has prevailed.

When the "Mayflower" lay off Cape Cod, November 11, 1620, a significant document was drawn up

and signed by forty-one heroic souls. Therein was written:

> We do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, to which we promise all due submission and obedience.

The subscribers to this immortal instrument were seeking a refuge from oppression, and they realized that the attainment of their cherished aims was impracticable, apart from the safeguards of equitable legislation. And from their example and from the experience of ages, it has come to be the accepted doctrine that liberty must be regulated by law. Hence, the most intelligent statesmanship in the old world and the new has been concerned and is still concerned with the problem how to secure to the individual the largest degree of personal freedom in politics, religion, and industry, compatible with the peace, order, and well-being of society as a whole; and where the enactments for the protection and conservation of the body politic are sufficient for their purpose, and interfere least with the independent activity of the individual and permit to him the widest possible latitude for self-development and self-government, there statesmanship has achieved its most brilliant successes.

But liberty, to be both wholesome and advantageous, is dependent on something more than rescript and statute. Never is it seen at its best, and never does it

achieve its best, apart from certain combinations and fellowships. In this respect it may be compared with the gas, nitrogen, of which an instructive account was given some years ago in "The Scientific American." The author of the article in question says that this gas is odorless and tasteless, and forms four-fifths of the atmosphere, and is so intimately related to the sum of existing things that were it to be destroyed universal life would perish. In itself, however, it is neither harmful nor harmless, its action depending on its affiliations. When united with carbon and hydrogen it forms deadly prussic acid; when joined to oxygen and hydrogen it becomes corrosive nitric acid; and when it goes into partnership with carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen it appears as the terrible explosive nitro-glycerine. But in other combinations, or in combination with the same elements in different and varying proportions, it constitutes the albuminoids, the gelatines, the glutens, and other strength-imparting properties of our common foods; it is indispensable to the composition of quinine, morphine, strychnine, and other remedial agencies, and to the creation of fragrance and colors. In the social world liberty corresponds to nitrogen in the physical. Like this subtle and all-pervasive gas, it is the most widespread and enduring of aspirations. There has never been a people who did not dream of it, or who failed to associate its possession with the attainment of their political Utopias.

And yet, taken by itself, it is not necessarily a sign of human felicity. The savage who owes allegiance to no man, and who recognizes no right he is bound to respect, is not an attractive figure. When liberty is

united with ignorance, lawlessness, passion, irreligion, and idleness, it becomes a corrosive, causing social irritability and discontent; or it may be changed into a destructive explosive, such as nitrogen becomes when allied with chlorine, and which a single ray of sunlight is sufficient to ignite. It is liberty *plus* something else that is really effective for good. Everything depends on its alliances and fellowships. To exercise a truly beneficent sway over mankind, it needs to combine with intelligence and integrity, purity and piety, sobriety and sagacity. When its head is illumined by knowledge, and its heart is sanctified by grace, and when its hands are busy with toil, and its feet are consecrated to services for the relief of wretchedness, then it rises to the august level of its benign possibilities.

And what is instructive to note is that its relations with these allies are singularly reciprocal. They are not independent of each other. The head cannot say to the foot, I have no need of thee. Enlightenment, religion, commerce, contribute toward the genesis of liberty, and liberty in its turn promotes the advancement of enlightenment, religion, and commerce. And when they happily coexist they continue to minister after their kind mutually and interchangeably. Liberty continues to open new doors to education, to faith, and industry, and constantly stimulates and invigorates their various enterprises; and these secular and spiritual forces on their side afford a generous support to liberty, and at the same time invest its ministrations with the charm of their own attributes. What God has joined together it would be perilous to part. If the seven colors of the rainbow are but the manifestations

on the white, which in itself is no color, then the white, if it exists at all, must again resolve these colors back into itself. Likewise, there must be no interference with the natural blending and interplay of the pure white light, liberty, with the marvelous colors which spring from it, and without which it would itself have no real existence, unless we would banish from the dark clouds that still lower on mankind the gracious iris of hope which betokens the final passing of the storm.

While from the nature of liberty, as thus defined, and from the prosperous condition of the communities where it has flourished, we are warranted in regarding it as of the highest value to society, it is only fitting that we should attempt to account for its potent influence in human affairs. Manifestly it makes much of the individual man. It exalts him. His dignity it maintains; his rights it upholds; his self-respect it fosters. It awakens in him the consciousness of his importance; it teaches him to revere his own possibilities and to believe himself equal to almost any emergency. Have we not here the secret of that pushing, arrogant, and somewhat overbearing manner of the average Englishman; and have we not here the explanation of that self-complacent feeling and quiet sense of superiority which characterize the Scotch, and of that imperturbable self-confidence and undismayed assurance by which the American is distinguished? These nationalities may not think of themselves more highly than they ought to think, but certainly they are not given to undue self-depreciation. Breathing the air of freedom, taught to consider themselves endued with certain inalienable rights, and learning, though the

apothegms may be variously phrased, that the best government is of the people, by the people, and for the people, and that the just powers of government are derived from the governed, no wonder that they indulge in considerable self-esteem, or that at times this esteem borders on self-conceit.

This characteristic may be unlovely, and may be carried to so great an extent as to be repulsive; but nevertheless it has its intensely practical side. It is the source of self-reliance and the mother of enterprise. Of it is born the masterful energy that overcomes difficulties, and the determined force that builds up industries and extends and expands the domain of commerce. There may be something selfish at its heart, but there is nothing weak or enervating. It is not the parent of the *fainéant* disposition, but of the heroic nature that scorns to be dependent on the charity of community, and is ready with chisel or sword, hammer or cannon, to hew or carve out of discouraging obstacles both fame and fortune. Montesquieu writes: "Honor is the basis of a monarchy and virtue the basis of a republic." There may be some ground for this distinction, though it is hard to conceive of a republic enduring any length of time if it disregards the obligations of honor. But virtue—especially if the term is taken in the sense of its primitive, *vir*, strength, manliness—is absolutely indispensable to popular government. Mr. George Jacob Holyoake informs us that on the close of the last century and up to 1816 of the present, care was taken in England not only to encourage the growth of the population, but to promote its physical and moral welfare. He explains that this solicitude was due to the conti-

nental wars in which Great Britain had to play an important part. But he adds: "When peace came, the necessity for rearing soldiers ceased, and no public belief then existed that it was for the interest of a great nation that the industrial portion of the people should be free from disease, poverty, or precariousness." This, however, emphatically is the *credo* of freedom. It pronounces its major excommunication against everything that tends toward human deterioration. The higher type of man which it helps to fashion is necessarily a creator of social prosperity, but realizing that the continuance of prosperity depends on the continuance of this type, he founds schools, colleges, churches, and calls into activity other agencies for its constant reproduction. Thus liberty, by sanctifying and ennobling humanity, lifts up the whole social life of a community, and adds to its vigor, to its wealth, and its felicity.

It does more than this. Liberty is synonymous with opportunity. It means the opening of prison doors, the breaking of prison chains, and deliverance from prison restrictions. It stands for expansiveness, a widening horizon, and a fair, free field for all. Not only does it mold manhood broadly and grandly, but it also enlarges the world wherein the man is to labor and achieve. A big man needs a big sphere of activity. He is dwarfed by and cannot do his best in meagre and repressive surroundings. With Israel of old, when about to enter on a new stage of development, he cries out: "The place is too strait for me; give place to me that I may dwell." Former times present the spectacle of barrier-building against the people, and of privilege sitting on its throne and saying to the tumultuous masses, as the Almighty

interdicted the invasion of the waves: "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther." Thus far, far enough to kiss my hand, to pay taxes to my majesty, to think my thought, to echo my speech, and to die in my defense; but not far enough to share in my honors, to partake of my ease, or to think your own thought, speak your own word, and do your own deed. The history of freedom consists almost entirely in a war against this infamous usurpation. It has battered down the walls of inquisitions and given to the flames instruments of torture; it has undermined oppressive dynasties and overthrown imperial tyrannies. It has swept away censors of the press, censors of the conscience, and censors of the forum, and it has overwhelmed the caste and exclusiveness which for ages had shut out the poor and lowly-born from the path of preferment in the civil and military branches of public service, and had doomed to obscurity and poverty, on account of their humble rank, the commanding genius which God had inspired for leadership. If, like Columbus, it has not discovered a new world, it has reconstructed an old one. It has lifted up its roof, extended its walls, and removed from it wretched inequalities of surface, which used to rise so high at times as to shut out the light from myriads of its inhabitants, and which often descended so low as to swallow up multitudes in the quagmire of despondency or despair.

In England the highest offices of State, excepting only that of the throne, are open to merit and distinguished ability. Salisbury, a peer of the realm, is prime minister to-day; yesterday it was the great commoner, Gladstone. In the United States even the presidential

chair may be won by the peasant boy, if he has brains and character equal to the task. But what means more to the mass of the people than these exceptional and remote possibilities, they are not hindered by absurd statutes, or intrenched prejudices, or by discriminating and vexatious injunctions, from making the most of themselves. If they have a message to deliver, a song to sing, a prophecy to utter, a scheme to propose, there is no one authorized to say them nay. And if they have a railroad to build, a mine to explore, a river to bridge, a prairie to cultivate, a mill to erect, a factory to start, a piece of mechanism to invent, a discovery to utilize, or any kind of improvement to inaugurate, or new industry to establish, they have not to ask anybody's permission, except, of course, where their enterprises may collide with the just rights of their neighbors. In a very real sense liberty has made them free of the universe, to draw light and inspiration from its heavens, to derive power from its electric currents, to gather profit and subsistence from its earth, and to obtain wisdom, enlightenment, and refreshment from the science, art, and literature called into being by the genius of its elect sons and daughters. Instead, therefore, of having a few individuals entitled by birth and family to rule and regulate society, to do all its thinking for it, and to be responsible for its intellectual, religious, and material successes, liberty transfers the obligation to the commonalty, and where formerly only a small number were really engaged, the many take up the burden; and consequently, with the multiplication of intelligent and independent workers the social world advances more rapidly in everything that makes for its ultimate perfec-

tion. And instead of electing a limited company of men and women to superintend its varied interests and to organize out of its citizens regiments and brigades forming an army of industry, true liberty leaves every one to choose his own vocation and to pursue it with as little molestation or supervision as possible.

Menzel writes of the German barbarians beyond the Rhine, who destroyed the legions of Varus:

> Every one enjoyed personal freedom, and had an exclusive right over his own property. In the popular assemblies of each district, the eldest man present presided, and the majority decided. It was only during war that they proclaimed a leader, whom they selected by raising him on their shield.

The name "Germanus" really signifies "a brother in arms"; and is expressive of the spirit which animated the old Teutons in peace as in war. They were not paternalists, but fraternalists. They did not believe in a chosen few empowered to take care of the many, but in the many taking care of themselves and assisting one another. In their crude way they anticipated what, as we have argued in this volume, is to be the governing ideal of the Social State; and when it shall be fully realized, when all, without coercion or compulsion, shall severally contribute to the public good, when all shall be brothers, not in arms, but in brotherly emulation, or in arms only to combine against the inroads of poverty or the encroachments of evil, and when each individual shall have free access to every avenue of emolument and honor, then the social value of liberty will have passed forever beyond the region of dubitation and debate.

What it has been to the world is yet further explicable by its most intimate connection with the spirit of Christianity. They have been indeed, at times, so closely allied that it has not been always possible to distinguish between them. Religion, in striving for the emancipation of the people from the abuses of civil rulers, and in maintaining her own right to worship God according to conscience, has imparted a kind of religious character to freedom. The historian cannot have failed to observe their apparent interdependence in all ages and countries. Their cause has been in the main a common cause. They have travailed in pain together. Religion could not prosper without freedom, and freedom could not endure without religion. Consequently, it is not easy to conceive of either battling independently for its own exclusive interests. The former, when seemingly championing its own rights, has necessarily upheld those of the citizen as a citizen, and in rousing communities to defend the gospel has impelled humanity to guard itself from the outrages perpetrated by despotism. While the slaves of Pharaoh were inspired by God to break the yoke, the immediate and primary gain was social rather than spiritual. Deliverance from temporal bondage led to the "church in the wilderness." The church in the wilderness did not lead to the temporal deliverance, but the direct action of the supernatural on the mind of Moses and others was the cause of that. An apostle said: "We must obey God, rather than man," but this principle followed to its legitimate results would justify the resistance of civic as well as of ecclesiastical usurpations. We hold that when the primitive confessors laid down their lives rather

than abandon their faith, and when they boldly declared that no power on earth has authority to coerce the mind, they were contributing to the extension of political as well as of religious freedom.

When Arnold of Brescia and Savonarola and Luther thundered against the pope, they were, though perhaps unconsciously, denouncing imperialist tyrants; and when they were proclaiming a spiritual church, they were likewise heralding the coming of republics. In 1565 the Council of Trent published its decrees, which Philip of Spain determined to enforce throughout his dominions. At this the Netherlands revolted, and the same year the famous "compromise" of the nobles was signed. Among the complaints rehearsed, we have these wrongs specified: "The introduction of a standing army amid a people whose laws and constitution were of a liberal caste; the increase of a number of ecclesiastical dignitaries; the attempt to introduce the Inquisition; and the enforcement of the intolerable edict of Charles V." Here we have two classes of outrages enumerated—those that bore heavily on the man as a Christian, and those that bore on the man as a citizen. And when William of Orange,[1] and after him his younger son Maurice, with whom we associate John van Barneveldt, drew the sword and pursued their heroic careers, they struck not only against the tiara at Rome, but also against the crown at Madrid. The Pilgrim Fathers who migrated to America avowedly in the interest of their conscience, had been permitted to study republican institutions in Holland for eleven years prior to their voyage to these distant shores, and it was then

[1] "Dutch Republic," Motley.

perfectly natural that ultimately out of their sufferings for their faith there should spring up a commonwealth distinguished for its freedom. When the colonists were striving to secure the independence of these United States, they were animated mainly by Christian motives, and when they had triumphed it was no more than reasonable that the church which had suffered so long from the presumptuous interference of secular government, should demand and obtain its release from such insulting, deadening, and pernicious oversight. This was secured by an amendment to the Constitution, enacted September 23, 1789.

But even then, while Christianity by this provision had gained what was her due, at the same time she enlarged by her persistent and enlightened action the scope of civil liberty throughout the land. This is made plain by the article referred to. It reads:

> Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Here is the record that will ever stand to the credit of religion. In this memorable transaction, while pleading for her own, and while claiming what she could never alienate from herself, she actually demanded larger privileges for society as a whole than she sought for herself. It would seem as though she could not live her life, assert herself in the face of enemies, or emancipate herself from the control of ungodly men, without opening prison doors, and leading forth the

captives held by earthly principalities and powers into the broad and glorious heritage of the children of God.

As a result of this disinterested devotion and of this interblending of gain and advantage, religion seems to have communicated a part of her very soul to liberty, while liberty on its side has become the warmest friend of religion, her firmest supporter, and her most useful ally. I know that Mazzini has been reported as saying, "God is not in the heart of this century," and he witnessed the movement of the nations toward political enlargement fifty years ago. But he was misled. In the clamor against the Vatican which distinguished that upheaval, it was not difficult to mistake the assault on superstition for an attack on divine revelation. And it should be remembered that the great men who have led in revolutions for the emancipation of the people, have, as a rule, been under the influence of faith. Oliver Cromwell, Hampden, William of Orange, George Washington, General Grant, William Ewart Gladstone, and a host of others, who have been the firm friends of freedom, were not atheists nor revilers of sacred things. It has been stated more than once that the American revolution was begotten by infidelity, and was designed to put an end to the Christian system. But so did not the Father of his country interpret the conflict in which he bore so noteworthy a part. In his farewell address we read: "Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education upon minds of a peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." Daniel Webster, also discoursing on the United States, says: "All, all proclaim that Christianity,

Christianity independent of sects and parties, that Christianity to which the sword and fagot are unknown, is the law of the land." And Judge Story replies to those who calumniate the founders of the republic in the ever-memorable statement: "The attempt to level all religions and to make it a matter of State policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation." No; the divorce charged by the enemies of our Lord never took place at the beginning of American national life. It occurred not then; it has not taken place since. In an English document of the year 1656, it is recorded that this continent gave evidence of great improvement "almost to the world's wonder, especially in those parts called New England." And since then the gospel has marvelously prospered in "these remote parts of the world," as the venerated Puritans designated these shores.

Admittedly there is much yet to be desired. Unquestionably there are many wrongs to be deplored, and a vast amount of skepticism to be dealt with. No glowing colors we may impart to our picture of present times can obliterate the hideous shadows. They are there, thick and appalling. But we should judge by contrasts and comparisons. Place the nations where liberty is at its best by the side of the nations where liberty is at its worst, and it will be found where liberty is at its best that religion, vital, spiritual, evangelical, ethical, aggressive religion, is at its best too; and where liberty is at its worst, there religion is at its worst as well, has become effete, ceremonial, gorgeous in robes and rites but corrupt and immoral in practice. The

opponents of Christianity may cavil against this representation; but of its exact fairness there is really no room for reasonable doubt. It is easily verified, and it would be a waste of words to cite and multiply evidences. And if it is accepted as accurate and just, then our contention is sustained, namely, that liberty has come in some degree to blend religion with itself, to share in its nature and to breathe its spirit. By this assimilation and incorporation liberty takes on the character of a priestess feeding the fires of sacred devotion, and is changed into a fellow-laborer with the church for the spiritual and ethical salvation of the nation. Such a vocation as this manifestly adds greatly to its social value. For remember what De Tocqueville has impressively said: "A people that would be free and strong must believe, and a people which will not believe must be a subject people," a judgment confirmed by Roscher, who testifies: "That no religious and morally good people ever perished so long as it preserves these best possessions." In helping, therefore, to preserve these best of blessings, liberty not only conserves its own existence, but it ennobles society, and by increasing virtue contributes toward the strength and stability of society.

Nor does its ministry terminate with this important service. We find it the real spring of that patriotism which is at once the source of national prosperity and the secret of national protection. Love of country is no mere sentimental grace, impracticable and unproductive. The old Venetians used to say that the very foundations of empire must be laid in the heart of citizens and subjects; and Oliver Cromwell recognized its inestimable worth when he commanded "zealous affec-

tions toward the general weal of our mother country." Unfortunately this high virtue has frequently been parodied, and consequently not a few have come to look upon its profession with suspicion. Gibbon writing of himself says: "I went into Parliament without patriotism and without ambition, and all my views tended to the convenient and respectable place of a Lord of Trade." Very different this spirit from that which animated Pœdaretus, who having lost his election to the council of three hundred, rejoiced "that there were three hundred better men in the city than himself." The Englishman was mean, selfish, mercenary, seeing in his country only a source of emolument and ease; while the Greek was generous and disinterested, ready to devote himself to the public good. And as he sought no personal ends he was delighted that the citizens had discovered so many more worthy than himself to be honored with the glorious *burdens* of official life. There have always been those who have corresponded to the group described by Cowper in the couplet:

> To see a band called patriot for no cause,
> But that they catch at popular applause.

To this order belong the "Jingoes," a vain-glorious coterie, whose title is derived from the song of a music hall swaggerer:

> We don't want to fight,
> But, by jingo, if we do,
> We have the ships, we have the men,
> And have the money too;[1]

and who are continually making themselves offensively

[1] "Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life," p. 523.

prominent and glaringly ridiculous by appealing to the racial and national prejudices of the groundlings. This order includes the low type of politicians who are in politics purely for the spoils, and who cannot understand a citizen's being there for anything else. With them also may be numbered the calculating traders who sell, or try to sell, shoddy garments, shoddy weapons, shoddy ships to the government in time of war, and who, while parading their Spanish honor or their English loyalty to the crown, or their American devotion to "Old Glory," are deliberately sacrificing army and navy, forts and harbors, and the national safety and well-being to their own base cupidity.

In the better days of the Greek republics every one counted it a privilege to be allowed to serve the State; but in modern countries there have always existed sordid creatures who have held that the State should serve them. When efforts were made to improve the municipal administration of New York, the reforming mayor speedily found that citizens of the highest social standing were unwilling to be burdened with official responsibility. No personal advantages would have accrued to them had they consented to hold office. Their declination is not an exceptional instance of the difficulties in the way of securing the most representative men in American cities to devote themselves to the public good. The indisposition of such men to tax themselves for the benefit of the community has frequently resulted in the selection of inferior persons, often of jobbing proclivities, who dicker and trade, and who bring into municipal government the business methods of the pot-house and the disreputable arts of common swindlers. It is

the boast of England that its official world is composed of its best, purest, and strongest men, and the men best entitled to confidence. And a change is taking place in the same direction, slowly perhaps, but surely, in the United States. The hour, I believe, is not far off when the most thoughtful, the most scholarly, the most affluent among our citizens will realize that patriotism means the subordination of personal interests and tastes to the public weal, and will count it an honor to be called on to forego the gratification of their preferences and inclinations for its promotion. Gradually they are coming to appreciate the striking motto: "All for each, and each for all," and to understand that while patriotism obliges the entire community to maintain the rightful cause of the humblest individual, it also requires each among the greatest and the highest to adopt the "*Ich dien*," I serve, of the Prince of Wales' proud crest, and to be ready when necessary to become the servant of all.

However the notables of this land may have failed in the past to manifest this spirit in civil affairs, it has never really been wanting when domestic strife has imperilled the institutions or foreign war has menaced the life of the nation. At such times there has always been a most remarkable overflowing of patriotism. Then all classes, ranks, and conditions have pressed forward to join the colors and to uphold them against every foe. Young men of position, wealth, and culture have united, without regard to social distinctions, with ardent youth from the plow, the mine, and the factory, and have served as privates in the field, or as seamen before the mast. The thought of family has not obtruded then

and aristocratic pretensions have been given to the winds. Gentlemen who have shirked jury duty, who have begrudged the payment of equitable taxes, and who would have regarded it as an intolerable hardship to be compelled to give a few hours for the purpose of looking after municipal affairs, have been ready at a moment's warning to enlist in a troop of Rough Riders, and have counted it a privilege to swelter beneath a tropic sun and risk an untimely grave in Cuban soil. Whenever this chivalrous devotion has been manifested, there has been wrought out before the eyes of the entire population an object-lesson in patriotism; and when the example is copied by all citizens in seasons of peace, then love of country will cease to be powerless as a motive in civil life. The trend is in this direction, and it has set in strongly and irresistibly.

Why should not love of country prove as operative at one time as another? And why should it not as much constrain men to live for society as to fight and die for its safety? As an inspiration it should be as potent under the one set of conditions as it is under the other. And if it has not been, the failure must be accounted for by some lack of discrimination. Is it not true that we rarely pause to inquire what it is in a country that begets love? The majority, I am sure, stumble along without ever a thought given to this subject. They assume that this affection must be due to their birthplace, and because it was their birthplace. Or they imagine that it is called out by the superior attractions and pre-eminent material glories of the land wherein they dwell. But let me ask what it is that rouses the hero soul in the day of battle? And espe-

cially in the United States, what is it that overcomes social prejudices and impels the best blood in the country to submit to the inconveniences and annoyances of the camp and to the perils and horrors of the fierce encounter? The answer will be given: "Love of country." What, love of its acres, of its mines, of its gold and silver, of its wharves and shipping? No, no, no; but rather the passionate love of what, next to the religion of Christ, is its chief glory—liberty. Here we have the key to this singular contradiction in American character. War, domestic or foreign, brings into relief the dangers that beset freedom; and with the swiftness of the lightning's flash reveals its preciousness. That which had been overlooked in times of peace becomes real and apparent now; and the very men who a little while ago would not inconvenience themselves for society unless adequately compensated, step to the front without hope of reward, brave the bullets of enemies, and quietly accept death, if need be, in the performance of duty. After all, then, it is freedom that renders a country lovely, and that kindles in the soul the fires of patriotism. And these fires may burn as brightly in lands where the climate is inhospitable, and where the soil is poor and barren, as where the skies are radiant and the earth rich and bounteous.

Holland is flat and monotonous, and a large portion of Switzerland is bleak, a mass of rock, a mountain of snow; and yet these marshy levels and these dizzy heights and frowning glaciers have been as heroically defended as though they were the most opulent of districts and the most prolific in harvests and auriferous treasures. It was not diamond fields or placer accumu-

lations in the torrent's bed, or the hope of extorting ransoms from conquered provinces that inspired the patriots of Morgarten. Neither was it the marvelous wealth of the Helvetic Confederacy that led the hardy peasants of the Forest Cantons to resist the Austrians at Sempach. These heroes loved Switzerland; Switzerland, poor, rugged, harsh, created rather for the chamois than for men, because there flamed from her inaccessible solitudes the beacon light of liberty in the midst of despotic Europe. The story of William Tell, even if partly legendary, illustrates the truth that it is liberty, not extensive territories or stupendous resources, that generates patriotism. Rome was never more burdened with gold and with priceless articles of every description than she was when the barbarian prevailed against her. And the self-immolation of Arnold Winkelried at Sempach, when he gathered the pikes of the Austrians in his arms, was not prompted by expectation of worldly honors or vast estates to be conferred on himself or on his children.

> "Make way for liberty," he cried,
> Then ran with arms extended wide,
> As if his dearest friend to clasp,
> Ten spears he swept within his grasp:
> "Make way for liberty," he cried—
> Their keen points met from side to side;
> He bowed amongst them like a tree—
> And thus made way for liberty.

Liberty then is the real mother of patriotism, and patriotism born of other parents is hardly entitled to the name. The citizens of America who love the land so much that they seem intent on monopolizing it all

for their own benefit may be clever business men, and may excite the envy of multitudes who are seeking in vain to imitate them successfully, but they do not sympathize with genuine patriotism. When that virtue flourishes the mercenary spirit declines, and there comes into active prominence the grace which will differentiate the Social State from every other kind of State, and which was first exemplified in Christ, who came not to be ministered to, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for others. And if liberty contributes toward the development of this grace,—and that it does we venture to believe we have not left in doubt,—then its value to society cannot possibly be overrated.

At this point we bring to an end the explanation we have attempted. We have tried to make clear how it comes to pass that liberty has uniformly blessed and prospered the communities where it has been enthroned and honored. Our philosophy in some respects may be inadequate, but we feel that at least it has been sufficient to suggest that freedom is a sacred trust, to be preserved, not only for its immediate possessors, but for those less favored people who have never shared in its privileges. Great is the responsibility resting on England and America. They have been made the custodians of this inestimable boon. There breathes not a lover of the race who, as he meditates on its degradation and bondage in distant lands, is not cheered when he hears of the conquest of the Saxon, and is not saddened when he hears of his defeat. There exists not a burdened serf, or a long-suffering victim of Oriental brutalities who, if his human nature still survives the hardening process, does not turn his face to the West

when he breathes his evening prayer, and in his heavy sleep does not dream of blessings enjoyed by mortals beyond the sunset and the stormy sea. There reigns not an absolute monarch, or a monarch who plots to be absolute, whether in Germany or Russia, whatever may be his protestations to the contrary, who does not exult over possible contentions between free nations, and who is not overjoyed when such nations play the tyrants themselves. There frets not a bound demagogue in other realms who does not take courage when he learns that in those ends of the earth where freedom rules, denunciation often passes for demonstration, and abuse for argument; and there groans not a coarse criminal in his chains who does not delight to learn that there also he may find openings for the perpetration of fresh enormities. The eyes of the good and the bad, of the true and the false, are turned, with varying emotions, toward Great Britain and the United States. How will they deal with the divine trust committed to their care? Will they abuse it at home, disgrace it abroad? Or will they render to it a fitting homage and a noble tribute in the character of their social life? And will they extend its sway to vast empires, like China, and to the isles of the sea, like the Philippines, whose resuscitation from death depends on the influence of its benign institutions? If these great Powers shall magnify their mission, then shall they deserve well of coming generations. But whatever course they may pursue, they cannot escape their responsibility. God will hold them terribly accountable for the future of liberty in the world. If they are faithful to their obligations, then shall its light irradiate the darkest domains of earth,

and from its life-giving rays there shall spring into being new nations of enfranchised people, who shall bear their part in ushering in the Social State, and with it the social redemption of mankind.

But if England and America fail the world in its need, and if they regard the great heritage of liberty, not as a sacred trust, but as a possession to be selfishly enjoyed, then God Almighty be merciful to them, for they will have written Ichabod on their altars and escutcheons.

CHAPTER XII

THE PASSING OF THE WAR-GOD

A REGIMENT has just marched through the streets on its way to camp. With its flaunting colors, its flashing bayonets, its gleaming swords, and its glitter of golden shoulder ornaments, it made a brave appearance, and was greeted by the uproarious multitudes of spectators with patriotic plaudits. Nothing finer can be conceived among mercenary men than this chivalrous devotion of youth to the demands of country and honor. Home, friends, the pursuits of pleasure and business, are abandoned, and perhaps all prospects of success in life and of a comfortable old age, sacrificed for military duty and the remote contingency of military renown. Contemplating the troops as they tramp along, and myself feeling the martial strains of the music, I can but remember that these stalwart fellows only a few days ago were students, merchants' clerks, kind-hearted farmer lads, and even frequenters of city clubs,—dudes, with no interests on earth apart from athletics and waistscoats,—and there comes back to me the refrain of a vigorous English song:

Men whisper that our arm is weak,
  Men say our blood is cold,
And that our hearts no longer speak
  The clarion note of old.
But let the spear and sword draw near
  The sleeping lion's den,

Our island shore shall start once more
To life with armed men.

And evidently there is not much difference between the sleeping eagle and the sleeping lion. Apparently they both slumber lightly, and with only one eye closed, and are able in a few hours to convert their plodding peace-loving citizens into determined and disciplined soldiers. How ready the people are to drop the plow, the spade, and the pen,—even though the latter is "mightier than the sword,"—and to place themselves in the hands of the drill-sergeant, and to submit cheerfully to all the inconveniences of camp, and to all the sufferings of actual conflict! When but a child I witnessed the departure of England's battalions for the Crimea. I was too young to understand the meaning of the scenic display. Probably I clapped my hands in childish glee at the sight of so much splendor, never once dreaming that "many a good tall fellow" in those scarlet and burnished lines would fall before the remorseless shot and shell of the embattled Russians.

Later on I saw the flower of American youth mustered under the national banner, and as they went forth to the fierce contention I could faintly imagine the horrors to which they would be exposed, and measure in some degree the losses they would have to endure. Alas! alas! the reality transcended the wildest flights of the most strongly winged fancy. And now another host has been gathered under the folds of Old Glory, and just as proudly, as valiantly, and as calmly as their sires moved to meet the English at Bunker Hill or Yorktown, and their fathers to encounter the Confederates at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, American

young men are pushing forward to inflict overwhelming disaster on Spanish domination in the West. They are not deterred by stories of yellow fever, of inadequate hospital service, of imperfect commissary arrangements, or of the hundred and one difficulties in the way of invaders contending with inhospitable climate as well as with harbor mines and mountain ambuscades. Indifferent to perils which would reasonably enough deter enterprise in business life, these sons of freedom buckle on the armor and smilingly court death in response to the mandate of their country.

Thus it has been from the beginning; but may we not hope that in time to come the necessity for such heroic devotion will cease? I, at least, entertain this expectation. And as the regiment with its fluttering colors disappears, swallowed up in the tortuous streets of famous old Boston, I take my pen anew and venture some reflections on the passing of the war-god.

How such a deity ever came to be invented it is difficult, if not impossible, to explain. To attempt an elucidation of the mystery I fear would be tedious and profitless. But however accounted for, Mars, with an "eye to threaten and command," was venerated at an early day among the Hellenic tribes, who reared temples to his honor. While Homer eulogizes his strength, the poet does not esteem him invulnerable, for he represents him as being wounded by Diomedes, and as captured by Otus and Ephialtes, the sons of Neptune. May not this be an unconscious prophecy of the coming hour when he shall be wounded to the death?

The Romans were more devoted to his worship than the Greeks. By them he was exalted as the father of

Romulus, and as the protector of the nation; and to him they consecrated a large enclosure called the *Campus Martius*, and a special order of *Flamines*, named the *Salii*, who with songs and dancing bore the sacred shield, *Ancile*, on solemn festival occasions around the city. Variously was this deity portrayed by ancient artists. He is presented at one time covered with armor, brandishing a spear, and drawn by furious horses in a chariot. Then he is seen in a similar position driven by Bellona, the goddess of war, who guides the fiery steeds with one hand while with the other she flashes a flaming torch. His horrid retinue usually consists of Clamor, Anger, Discord, Fear, Terror, and Fame, and his most highly esteemed offerings, those most frequently dedicated to his service, are wolves, dogs, magpies, and vultures.

In all of these things we have mythical adumbrations of the miseries involved and of the crimes and curses entailed when men forsake the ways of peace. It is not surprising that heathen peoples should have sanctified rapine, lust, and bloodshed. We are not disappointed when we learn that they regarded the spoils taken from an enemy as being of all others the most acceptable to their deities; nor are we astonished when we find the Athenians arming Apollo, who symbolized intellect, with bow and arrow, and more frequently investing Athena herself, goddess of wisdom, with helmet and shield, than with distaff and shuttle. Neither are we amazed that the Sabine aborigines reared first of all a temple to Victory. And why should we be startled by the respect entertained by the old Romans for double-faced Janus, the opening of whose temple gates announced

the waging of war? All of these customs and practices were in keeping with the semi-barbarous state of the most civilized communities among the ancients, and were in strict accord with the coarse and confused conceptions which were honored by them with the name of religion. They were not unnatural or incongruous. There was nothing in them, however strange they may seem to us, alien or violently repellent to their culture or their conscience. But to speak the truth, we are somewhat surprised, pained, and mortified that the annals of the Old Testament and the historic unfolding of the Christian faith should reveal in their adoption of sanguinary methods a seeming recognition of the war-god's sacredness. We confess to a kind of chill when we hear Israel invoking the All-Father as the "God of Battles," and we find it hard to reconcile alliances between war and religion, and after all explanations, some of which we are compelled to accept, we are sadly perplexed at the frequent appeal to fire and sword in carrying out the designs of Divine Providence.

It has been observed more than once that a singular sympathy appears to exist between clergymen and soldiers. While their vocations are so radically different, they seem to have much in common. This affinity on the part of the minister may arise from the fact that he too is necessarily a fighter, and though not exposed to shot and shell, must make up his mind to give and take valiantly if he is to make inroads into the territories of corruption and of spiritual darkness. He knows what it is to stand alone in the midst of dangers; to keep his vigil over imperilled truth beneath the patient stars; to brave disease and death in carrying consolation to

the neglected poor; and to lay down his life in solitary forest or on the threshold of fever-infected jungles for the salvation of the despised and outraged races of the earth. The heroism of Bagley, Hobson, Dewey, or of the older popular fighters, like Lord Nelson or Commodore Perry, has been fully matched by that of MacKay, of Uganda, whom the explorer Stanley extols for his loyalty to duty, and by that of the missionary to the New Hebrides, whose hair has been turned into silver whiteness by the savage horrors he has contemplated through long years of service, and whose face has acquired the look of serene composure which comes only from the brave, unflinching heart that has long prepared for sudden death.

Perhaps it is this very daring, and this magnificent subordination of self to the supreme will of Christ, ever characteristic of the foremost preachers of the word, that awakens the admiration of the soldier and that inspires his friendship for those who are warriors too, though carrying on their campaigns in other fields than theirs and employing different weapons. Many ministers have also been soldier priests, and many officers and privates have been priestly soldiers. The former have taken service and fought, like any other common men at arms, for love of country and for the cause of freedom. And the latter have carried their religion into the camp and have honored it on the battlefield. The mention of the names of Havelock, Chinese Gordon, Stonewall Jackson, General Howard, General Roberts, General Miles, Admiral Dewey, Captain Philip, Captain Hedley Vicars, will of itself suffice to illustrate my meaning. Two examples also may be taken,

though many others could be adduced, of this militant piety as it appears in action. On the eve of the battle of Leuthen, December 5, 1757, Frederick the Great heard the soldiers singing a devout hymn by Rinkart. When an officer suggested that they be silenced, the king replied, "No, with such men God will surely give me the victory to-day." And when the Prussian arms were victorious, the rank and file, amid the wounded and the dying, took up the song again and sang:

"Now thank we all our God
With heart, and hands, and voices,
Who wondrous things hath done,
In whom the world rejoices;
Who from our mothers' arms
Hath blessed us on our way
With countless gifts of love,
And still is ours to-day."

Equally picturesque and impressive the scene on the battleship "Texas" on that memorable day when the Spanish fleet was destroyed off the coast of Santiago de Cuba. While yet the smoke hung heavily on the waters, and hundreds of gallant men were struggling with the waves, the brave commander, conscious of victory, called on his crew to uncover while he confessed Almighty God and lifted up his voice in gratitude. Here is the ideal priestly fighter in real life, converting his vessel into a floating sanctuary, and while his hands are yet red with the blood of his enemies, pouring out his soul in thanksgiving to the Creator who equally made the conquered and the conqueror.

An indignant apostle inquires: "What concord hath Christ with Belial?" And the meeting in what ap-

proaches a mutual fellowship of these representatives, whose vocations are so diametrically hostile to each other, raises the kindred question: "What friendship can there be between Jesus and Mars?" This query takes on additional significance when some of the accompaniments of our Lord's nativity and some features of his ministry are considered. At his birth the angels sang of "peace on earth," as if the morning had dawned of that halcyon period announced ages before by the prophet when the weapons of strife should be changed into implements of husbandry. Then the Master himself, by his manner, by the very tones of his voice, as well as by his words, impressed his followers that he had come to send peace on the earth. His command to the waves: "Peace, be still," was almost symbolic speech, defining his attitude toward a world torn and rent by faction and hatred. He, likewise, expressing marked disapproval, declared that "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

Expounded literally, his words would seem to enjoin peremptorily the world-transforming principle of non-resistance to evil, and to abrogate everything like an alliance between religion and the war-god. Many of the primitive disciples interpreted him in this absolute manner. Later on, teachers, like Tertullian, Lactantius, and David, understood him in the same way, and Maximilianus, in the reign of Diocletian, was so convinced of the utter impossibility of reconciling a soldier's vocation with Christian vows that he gladly suffered death rather than march against a foe. But this construction of our Lord's doctrine was not uniformly accepted. His followers could not forget what he had

said about sending a sword on the earth, and they came at length very generally to believe that military service could not be necessarily inconsistent with personal godliness, when the apostles seemed to take pleasure in borrowing its nomenclature out of which to fashion imagery illustrative of the saint's career and conflict. Whatever, therefore, may have been our Lord's design, his own statement that he had not come to send peace on the earth, coupled with the inspired allusions to the soldier's craft, evidently obscured his meaning and were taken as justifying service under the imperial eagles. And almost every scruple disappeared when, through successful battle, an emperor was given to the church; and if any survived it was effectually smothered by the rude barbarians who, on espousing the cross, never for a moment thought of laying aside the sword.

Since then the world has witnessed the startling spectacle of a religion avowedly born of peace and professing to be intent on peace, being more or less directly related to deeds of blood and to campaigns of slaughter. Brotherhood has been proclaimed by men with crimsoned hands grasping their sword hilts. Arbitration has been eulogized by statesmen while fresh contracts for the building of fleets and the equipment of armies were being made. Near pulpits where concord and accord have been extolled, flags and muskets have been picturesquely grouped. And nations exemplary in their domestic virtues and devoted to industrial pursuits have in a moment forgotten all their prudential maxims, and for freedom, or for the vindication of some great principle, have plunged into the delirium of killing others and being killed themselves.

There must be some explanation of this phenomenon. How does it come to pass that the war-god has been tolerated so long? With the spirit of Christ arrayed against it, with the manifest incompatibility that exists between the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount and the fierce usages of civilized military affairs, logically it ought to have disappeared altogether before this. But the world is not governed by logic, unless by the logic of events; and up to the present moment the actual syllogism has not been worked out to such a conclusion as to overbear all opposition. This is in the course of being accomplished. Progress has been made. The end may not be far off. But it is not yet here; and while it tarries we may reasonably inquire into the theories—not without foundation—which have prolonged the existence of the war-god.

Multitudes of devout people in every age have believed that Mars has often been empowered by the Almighty to scourge the nations for their iniquities. Neither can it be denied that this impression is warranted by the exterminating energy of armies against the polluted Canaanites as recorded in the sacred Scriptures. Every other explanation of the cruel rage of the Israelites is totally inadequate, while to some of us even this is not altogether satisfactory. Such fearful acts of retribution, apparently with divine sanction, have fostered the view that when all other means have failed God himself appeals to the sword for the punishment of the wrong-doer.

In this light the irruption of the Northern barbarian, with the consequent devastation of the Roman Empire, has been interpreted. When likewise from beyond the

Tigris and Euphrates the conquering Turk swept down on Constantinople, trampling beneath his feet many a fair province, and when the armies of imperial France broke like a cyclone on the continent of Europe, it is not easy to avoid the conviction that they were the rough instruments in the hand of Providence for the execution of its fearful judgments. Napoleon seems to have been the axe and hammer of the Almighty, just as Sennacherib is represented by the prophet as the unconscious instrument of God's overwhelming condemnation of the ancient world. Nor are we to suppose that this conception is antiquated. When the Crimean war was entered on by England, the Queen's advisers desired that a day of humiliation and prayer should be observed. She objected to the term "humiliation," and the word was omitted; but in Great Britain, as later in the United States on the eve of the civil conflict, when a fast-day was held there was a widespread feeling that even a justifiable appeal to arms had in it something of a chastisement for sin. For it should be understood that conflicts often arise from the failure of people to see their responsibility for the toleration of certain iniquities. They make up their mind to leave abominations alone. Their theory is that postponement of reform will do no harm. They imagine that injustice can be remedied by compromise, or that it is possible for smart statesmen to outwit the Almighty, who has decreed eternal hostility against baseness and corruption. Thus through the Northern States prior to 1861 there was a disposition to leave the festering sore in the heart of the South alone; just as there has been in more recent times on the part of the powers of

Europe a determination not to adopt heroic measures to cure the evils from which Armenia suffers; and just as our own people hesitated long before pronouncing the final word that has put an end to the pitiable sufferings of women and children in the island of Cuba. Our hesitancy to deal with the problem of slavery resulted in a tremendous sacrifice of noble manhood; and we cannot avoid the belief that even yet the shock of battle will be felt in Europe because of the Armenian butcheries; and it is impossible to tell what calamities might have befallen America had she stood idly by with her hand upon her sword but without courage to draw it in the face, if need be, of united Europe. When, therefore, after the policy of timidity has been adhered to and has been violently brought to an end, and when, in consequence of its heartless continuance, cities have been given to the flame and fields and plains have been drenched in blood—it is not surprising that conscientious people, having before their eyes his fear, should regard these scenes of horror as visitations of the Almighty.

But apart from this terrible aspect of battle, devout thought has come to see that through its agency human progress has often been promoted, and therefore it hesitates to eliminate it from among the measures that may legitimately be used, even by religious men and nations, for the advancement of truth and justice. While on the one side it undoubtedly has served as a punishment, on the other it has not infrequently promoted social and moral development. William of Orange once said: "War is preferable to a doubtful peace," and Dr. Parkhurst some time ago wrote: "There are evils worse

than war; national disintegration and loss of liberty are worse." Undoubtedly the soldier and the preacher have reason for their statements. Who is there who would not prefer an honorable conflict rather than submit to a dishonored condition of existence? Who is there that would not rather risk his life, his fortune, all, indeed, that he possesses, rather than bend his neck to the yoke and hand over to the tender mercies of his foes the dear ones who cling to him for security and happiness? Yes; there are some things worse than war. Far worse is it to be base and cowardly, so cowardly as to be unwilling to shed a drop of blood to effect deliverance for those who have no claim upon our sacrifice but the claim which tends to cement men and women of different climes, races, and religions. When the white man exposes himself to death to deliver the black; when the black man ventures everything to rescue the white; and when the American interposes on behalf of the Cuban, the identity of humanity becomes more apparent, and from the throes and agony of strife its solidarity becomes more palpable and distinct.

The feuds of the Roses in England, the rancorous rupture between throne and parliament; the contentions bordering upon revolution between the Chartists and their adversaries, were all means that contributed to the development and glory of Great Britain. Undoubtedly the tyranny of Austria caused enormous suffering through the vales and hills of Switzerland, but at last it went so far that the unconquerable spirit of the mountaineers was roused, and from the succeeding struggle proceeded the little republic whose beacon light of liberty has shone with hope for all the bur-

dened masses of the continent. Dr. Richard Storrs has called attention to the marvelous effect of the Crusades: "They mobilized the population of Europe; they accustomed nations hitherto hostile to work together; they broke the yoke of baronial tyranny; they changed and equalized properties; they stimulated invention and geographical research." To this may be added that they led indirectly to the revival of learning; to the Reformation under Luther; and to the quickening of commerce, by which the modern world has been radically changed from what it was in the days of Godfrey and his knights. If movements of this general character have made for progress, it can hardly be doubted that defensive wars, especially in the interests of human rights, as in the case of our resistance against the encroachments of England, must have contributed to the world's onward march.

Fifty years ago—that is, in 1848—Europe was on the verge of a volcano, and as the dense smoke rose from the crater, the chivalrous youth of Italy contemplated, as in a dream, the unity of their native land, and Baron Stockmar and other enlightened publicists were hoping for the creation of an empire in Germany. At the same time the second republic had arisen in France, with expectations of a prolonged existence and of increasing prosperity. The conservatives of the day sneered at the visions of youth and the poetic aspirations of prophets and heroes; but all that was then anticipated has come to pass. Italy has been united; Germany likewise has drawn together her States and created the imperial government; even France, having passed through a period of ruinous Napoleonic rule, has

emerged once more into the republic. And it is to be noted that not one of these achievements was brought about without appealing to the arbitrament of the sword.

Understand, I am not defending war in these paragraphs. I am only explaining why it has continued so long. Neither am I contending that progress is inconceivable apart from its terrible ministry. But it may be intimated that in my secret heart I must believe that force will always be necessary to correct wrong and efface unrighteousness. Yes; surely, for as Ruskin asks: "In the name of the three Magi, what else is to be worshiped? Force of brains; force of heart; force of hand—will you dethrone these and worship apoplexy?" Surely not. We are not insisting that the mailed hand is the only strong hand, but we do insist that God has sometimes used it to crush vicious governments, and has also employed it to batter down the impediments which have been raised by cruelty in the way of human prosperity and happiness; and while it is not always needful, it is evidently sometimes needful, and it certainly emphasizes a truth never to be forgotten, that though bayonets and bullets may not be employed in overwhelming the tyrant, this world will never be righted by weakness, imbecility, frivolity, and triviality. Yes, the three Magi, force of heart, and force of brain, and force of hand, represent the conquering powers by which this world shall be roused from its lethargy and the evils in it be stormed, opening a path to the glorious feet of the Prince of Peace.

But though Christianity has not crushed the war-god, she has to some degree diminished his rapaciousness

and devilish cruelty. Freeman[1] remarks that the gospel has humanized warfare. Through its influence there grew up the ideal of knighthood,—the knight, *knecht;* that is, the servant,—which illumined the dark ages with chivalrous graces and nobilities. As Lecky puts it, this conception united in itself the vigor and valor of the ancient warrior with the docility and lowliness of the saint. He concedes that it has not yet been fully realized, nor even partially fulfilled as frequently as could have been hoped; but its charm has been increasing for the valiant, and every now and then has shone conspicuously in battle. While it must be recognized in the career of a Sir Philip Sidney, or of the Chevalier Bayard, it has appeared with equal clearness in many of our modern fighting heroes. We have seen it lately in the courteous treatment of Spanish officers and soldiers by their American adversaries, and in the ungrudging recognition of their bravery. It is a cause of congratulation that in the conduct of hostilities, in camp and field, in harbor and on sea, the kindly spirit of the Master has not been absent from the army and navy of the United States. While fulfilling their duties as soldiers and sailors, they have not forgotten that their opponents were men like themselves, and like themselves seeking to acquit themselves of their obligations to their country. Military men in the old world or the new have been so molded by Christianity that it is impossible for them to sympathize with Vespasian, who believed that a Roman Emperor should die standing, or with the king of Ulster, who advised his son not to be a Christian, and to be sure that he, when dead,

[1] "Norman Conquest."

was buried upright, like a man in battle, with his face toward the hated men of Leinster.

This kind of reckless bravado is now entirely out of date. Christ has taught us a more excellent way. Unhappily it seems as if all progress has to be achieved through suffering, and that it is only a question as to the character of the suffering endured, whether it should be that of the seamstress and the miner or of the soldier and the sailor. The spirit of our faith has penetrated the slums, and our faith from the beginning has been seeking to change the spirit of war. Hence she deprecates strife for purposes of national aggrandizement or territorial conquest. Though often overcome in the restraints which she has tried to impose on commanders, her voice has generally been for the cessation of aggressive and ambitious military enterprises. What she condemns, no people living under her influence should approve. But more than this, while she has limited the exercise of arms to the legitimate sphere of defense, or the equally legitimate action on behalf of the oppressed, she has carried into camp and field her own ministry of grace and peace. She hovers over the bivouac; carries off the wounded from the trenches; buries the dead in the silence of the night; reads over the sleeping heroes her immortal funeral words; and whispers consolation to the living. She mitigates the horrors of great battles, by sending to those who have been maimed and wounded the gracious ministrations of women like Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton; she calls into existence the services of Christian commissions and relief corps; everywhere over the poor wrecks of humanity she glides, bearing aloft the Genevan cross,

and, bending low, seeks to rescue for the sake of wife and mother in distant homes, the shattered forms of sons and husbands that have been torn by rifle-bullet or by shell. Moreover, while she soothes the dying and comforts the bereaved, when the supreme hour comes she extends her hands to both parties in the strife and declares that their differences should cease, and that they should recognize in the decision of battle the final decision of the Almighty.

While it may be possible to understand from these representations the reasons why the war-god tarries, it is not to be overlooked that the church, though called "militant," has been founded by the Prince of Peace to bring ultimately about the reign of peace. All her concessions, therefore, and her temporary adjustment of herself to the exigencies of human strife, must not be taken as finalities. She never can forget the visions of the prophets, which it is her vocation to actualize on earth, and neither can she be indifferent to the song of the angels or the embassy of reconciliation inaugurated by her Lord. Constantly it must be her hope that the war-god shall finally pass. It is inconceivable that she, for one moment, could contemplate the possibility of an endless repetition of appeals to the adjudication of the sword. Her nature has been shocked and must continue to be shocked by the horrors incident to battle. What Christian can read Thucydides, especially where he describes the Thracians' barbarous treatment of Mycalessus, and not be appalled? or what heart can follow the march of an Alaric, Attila, or Tamerlane, and not feel a sickening sense of shame? It is said that Attila vaunted that the grass never grew again where his

horse's hoof had trodden; and Zingis Khan, in his successes, so completely leveled the offending cities that his steed could gallop across their site without stumbling. "The three capitals of Khorasan were destroyed by his orders; at Maru, were killed one million three hundred thousand; at Herat, one million six hundred thousand; and at Neisabour, one million seven hundred and forty-seven thousand, a total of four million six hundred and forty-seven thousand deaths."[1] Timour, when he overcame Delhi, massacred one hundred thousand persons, and he demanded from the people of Ispahan seventy thousand human skulls with which to build towers, and after the suppression of the revolt of Bagdad, he executed ninety thousand persons. Such monstrosities, of course, are out of date in modern times; but even with all the generosity and forbearance or compassion that may be manifested toward the vanquished, the cost both in life and treasure of warfare is such as to envelop the Christian mind in an agony of great darkness, even as our Saviour himself was oppressed by the blackness of the world's shame in the garden of Gethsemane.

The statistician has furnished the following figures, based upon official documents, of the number of victims that have fallen in the more recent conflicts between the nations. The Franco-German war of 1870 cost two hundred and fifty thousand lives; the Prussian-Austrian conflict of 1866, some forty-six thousand; the Italio-Austrian war, about sixty-three thousand; while the figures in the Crimean struggle reached the enormous mass of seven hundred and eighty-five thousand. If we look back a little in the history of the world, we

[1] Newman's "Historical Studies."

find that Napoleon I. sacrificed to his various ambitious schemes about five million men; and it is computed that from eighteen million to twenty million men are killed in battle every century in Europe. It is estimated that Asia—notably China—demands about the same number of human offerings. In non-civilized nations, it is claimed that nearly five million must fall in petty warfares and in the subsequent retaliations every hundred years; that is, some forty millions of human beings are swept away by the terrible scourge of battle each century.

But to look at the question from a different standpoint, let us, if we can, compute the sufferings entailed when the *ultima ratio regum* is invoked, by considering the cost it demands in treasure. An article in the "Nineteenth Century"[1] entitled "The War Chests of Europe," gives some idea of the money that is involved in the military arrangements of Europe. Germany, for instance, "has her *Kriegsschatz*, a war reserve of one hundred and twenty million marks lying in coined gold in the Julius Tower at Spandau. Besides this fund, she has another in the *Reichsinvalidenfonds*." Russia has accumulated an enormous debt, mainly through her extensive armaments. She owed in 1882, one hundred and eighty-two million pounds. Her internal financial obligations had accumulated to the extravagant sum of two billion seven hundred and thirty million rubles. A Mr. Law, the commercial *attaché* to the English Embassy in the year 1892, estimated that "the peasants of sixteen provinces, already distressed by famine, would be owing, by the end of the year, at least two

[1] August, 1894.

hundred and fifty million rubles," and this did not include what was due on local taxes. The cost of the army and navy is stated, in a recent budget, to amount to more than two hundred and eighty-two million seven hundred thousand rubles, and the expenditure is constantly increasing. It is well known that the condition of French finances is far from good. "Its annual economics is estimated at two milliards," and no small part of this is devoted to the army and the navy. The state of affairs in Italy is even worse. The army and navy estimates represent a total in one year of three hundred and thirty-six million lire, besides ten million for extraordinary expenses. To these may be added the following estimates from a distinguished author:

> During the period of fourteen years English expenditure has increased from seventy-five million pounds to eighty-seven million pounds; that of Austria, from fifty-five million pounds to ninety-four million pounds; that of France, from eighty-five million pounds to one hundred and forty-two million five hundred thousand pounds; that of Germany, from fifty-four million pounds to one hundred and twelve million five hundred thousand pounds; that of Italy, from forty million pounds to sixty-one million five hundred thousand pounds; and that of Russia, from sixty-six million pounds to one hundred and fourteen million five hundred thousand pounds. Altogether the expenditure of the six great powers of Europe has increased from three hundred and forty-five million pounds to six hundred and twelve million pounds, an additional burden of two hundred and sixty-six million five hundred thousand pounds a year. The population of those States is now a little over two hundred and sixty-nine millions, so that they have to bear, on the average, an addition of taxation amounting to nearly a pound a head or about five pounds for each family, a most oppressive amount when we consider the extreme poverty of the masses in all these States, and that even before this period of inflated war

expenditure they had already to support a heavy and often an almost unbearable load of taxation.

Perhaps a single historical fact will bring into clearer relief the significance of these enormous outlays. It is well known that Napoleon, after the battle of Jena, imposed on Prussia as a humiliation that she should restrict her army to forty thousand or forty-two thousand men. At the time this was regarded by Berlin as a terrible calamity; and yet the emperor unintentionally had conferred upon the nation a great benefit. This limitation of the Prussian armies relieved the impoverished land from sustaining vast bodies of men in idleness, and afforded an opportunity for the revival of industrial pursuits and for the recuperation of national resources. Probably but for this temporary exemption, Germany would not be what she is to-day. Does it not seem, therefore, clear that she would prosper more, and all the other countries to which reference has been made where militarism is the paramount interest, if the drain on the earnings of the people for its sustenance were arrested, or materially diminished?

At present, standing armies have so increased on the continent that Europe groans under excess of taxation. Russia claims that at a short notice she could place two millions of soldiers in the field; France is ready with nearly a million and a half; Germany insists that she can advance to the frontiers stronger columns than her ancient foe; and Austria marshals under her banners upward of a million men. Even poor Italy, anxious to be counted with the great powers, is imperiling her civilization by enlisting more men than she can spare from the battalions of labor. It is also a comment upon

these facts, that since 1870 Germany, notwithstanding the remarkable frugality and energy of her people and the immense indemnity paid by France, has advanced more slowly in wealth and population than England, and not a few of her young men have escaped from compulsory military service by emigration, and in so doing have added to the wealth of America or Canada, or whatever other lands they may have adopted as their own. The expenditures of Great Britain are relatively enormous, but that nation relies upon voluntary enlistments both in the army and navy; she rejects the conscript system altogether, and magnifies the importance of her patriotic volunteers, and as far as we can judge, with the exception of the United States, she is really better defended than any of the other nations; for in addition to her wealth, she has vast resources in the intelligence, freedom, and loyalty of her people.

The lesson taught by the exactions imposed by war receives considerable emphasis from our own experience from 1861 to the present. The "New York Journal of Commerce" has collected with great care and given to the world an account of the sums expended by the United States in overcoming the disastrous endeavor to divide the Union. Four years of the rebellion demanded an outlay of about three billion one hundred and eighty million dollars. The statistician informs us that peace expenditures during the same period would naturally have been something like two hundred and sixty million dollars. Consequently we have to charge to the war two billion nine hundred and twenty million dollars. To provide for these expenses, seven hundred and thirty million dollars was raised by taxing the people,

while two billion four hundred and fifty million dollars was obtained by borrowing on interest-bearing bonds or by the issue of greenbacks. It is curious to note, and especially interesting to ourselves, that our fellow-citizens who lived during the internecine strife paid rather less than one-fifth of the expense incurred, while their successors have been burdened with the other four-fifths, which they are gradually discharging. This does not include the expense entailed by the pension list. This item must go on for many years, and it has been officially announced that it is annually increasing. It is computed by the "Journal of Commerce" that we are now paying, in pensions and interest, the sum of about three million five hundred thousand dollars every week. From all of which we are told that the liabilities created by the successful movement to overthrow the Confederacy and liberate the slaves will foot up, when every item has been settled, the respectable amount of twelve billions of dollars, "a sum equal to the entire assessed valuation of all the property in the United States when the war broke out."

This outlay is bewildering in its proportions, and contains at its heart a warning against attempting to convert this nation into one of a pronounced military type. As it is she is the envy of the old world. She has shown how a vast community can multiply its riches through the arts of peace. If she degrades herself by becoming one of the world's professed fighters, she will not only have to tax her own citizens, but, as others will have to arm against her, she will simply add to the general poverty and distress of mankind; for the extravagances which we have arrayed before the eyes of our

readers carry with them a story of untold agony and privation. They represent cities given to the flame, fruitful fields desolated, the industry of generations swept away, graves in the wilderness, rotting corpses in the swamps, and outrages unnamable in humble hamlet and lowly cot. When we think of these ravages we recall the language of Shakespeare, in which is portrayed the desolations that filled with horror the brave soldier of France:

> And as our vineyards, fallows, meads, and hedges,
> Defective in their natures, grow to wildness;
> Even so our houses and ourselves and children
> Have lost or do not learn for want of time
> The sciences that should become our country;
> But grow like savages,—as soldiers will,
> That nothing do but meditate on blood,—
> To swearing, and stern looks, diffus'd attire,
> And everything that seems unnatural.

But even now the war-god trembles. What, now? now? with the battle line of the republic far flung to the Philippines in the Pacific? What, now? with the enthusiasm for conflict and conquest being enkindled in the heart of her citizens? What, now? with Russian bayonets gleaming at Port Arthur, and the Muscovite bear gripping Manchuria? What, now? with England sweeping the dervishes in the Soudan and confronting the czar in China, and increasing her naval estimates enormously for his special consideration? Yes, even now; even now, for as the darkest hour is supposed immediately to precede the dawn, so this temporary chaos of the nations shall swiftly be succeeded by a calmer and better time; and even though there should be, as

was predicted by Heine, a general conflagration on the close of this century, when the twentieth century begins it is more than probable that the gates of the temple of Janus will be closed, and if not closed forever, so firmly locked and barred that it will be more than ever difficult to open them again. Yes, the war-god trembles; the mailed deity will soon be deprived of worshipers. Like other infamous idolatries, the adoration offered at his shrine by ambition and cruelty shall be forever swept away. The war-god is passing, and though he passes through blood and flame, though he passes along a highway wet with tears, and his noisy alarm drum is drowned in the awful sounds of shrieks and groans of mutilated and agonized humanity—still he is passing, inevitably passing.

Our confidence in his ultimate expulsion from civilization primarily rests on what Immanuel Kant set forth so strikingly in his great tractate entitled "Eternal Peace." He wrote in 1795 these memorable sentences:

> If happy circumstances bring it about that a powerful and enlightened people form themselves into a republic,—which, by its very nature, must be disposed in favor of perpetual peace,—this will furnish a center of union for other States to attach themselves to, and thus to secure the conditions of liberty among all States, according to the idea of the rights of nations; and such a union would extend wider and wider, in the course of time, by the addition of further connections of this kind.

He says further:

> According to the republican constitution, the consent of the citizens, as members of the State, is required to determine at any time the question whether there shall be war or not. Hence nothing is more natural than that they should be very loath to enter

upon so very undesirable an undertaking ; for in decreeing it they would necessarily be resolving to bring upon themselves all the horrors of war. And in this case this implies such consequences as these : To have a fight in their own persons ; to supply the costs of the war out of their own property ; to have sorrowfully to repair the devastation which it leaves behind ; and as a crowning evil, to have to take upon themselves at the end a burden of debt which will go on embittering peace itself. On the other hand, in a constitution where the subject is not a voting member of the State, the resolution to go to war is a matter of the smallest concern in the world. For in this case the ruler who, as such, is not a mere citizen but the owner of the State, need not in the least suffer personally by war, nor has he to sacrifice his pleasures of the table or of the chase or of his palaces. He can therefore resolve for war from insignificant reasons as if it were but a hunting expedition ; and he may leave the justification of it without concern to the diplomatic body.

When Kant was penning these words there was rising in the West a new power. Whether the philosopher identified it with his theories it is impossible to say ; but the soundness of his conclusions can hardly be disputed, and it seems to me that the people through whom they are primarily to be rendered effectual live upon this side of the Atlantic.

Remembering that war is inimical to the welfare of the citizen, it is only reasonable to suppose that the freeman will be slow to enter upon its hazards ; and when he realizes that the maintenance of liberty is a condition vital to the growth of prosperity, he will be even more reluctant to draw the sword which, before it is sheathed, may bring upon the political scene the form of a dictator. It has been said by more than one student of history that the shadow of an imperator always follows in the wake of armies and is only too sure to

emerge from conflict, especially between kindred races, as the Cæsars were developed from the antagonisms which overthrew the Roman republic. To-day there is hardly a political agitation in France which does not awaken alarm lest from the enormous standing army there may spring some ambitious soldier anxious to convert his sword into a scepter. Painfully has this been made apparent by the trial of Zola, in the haughty disdain of law manifested by military witnesses, and in the cringing fear of the populace lest their rights and freedom should be crushed beneath the hoofs of the "man on horseback."

Knowing the peril that always exists when war is invoked, naturally enough the western republic is suspicious of its encroachments. Madame de Staël, on a memorable occasion, observed: "If in the hour of peril the statue of Liberty has been veiled for a moment, let it be confessed in justice that the hands whose painful duty it was to spread the veil have not been the least prompt to remove it." But we are not quite sure that her statement will bear scrutiny. At least those who cherish liberty are unwilling to run the risk; and as far as possible would prefer that no veil should be spread over her fair face, especially one red and clotted with human blood. Fighters are not usually good political milliners. Were they, for instance, to decorate Columbia like a bride for the marriage, they might take it into their heads to wed her to the silent man on horseback, and this illicit union would involve the children of freedom in their mother's shame. As the philosopher of Königsberg intimates, the common people, the lowly sons of toil, with their wives and children, are more di-

rectly interested in the preservation of peace than are those whose rank is exalted and whose privileges are manifold. That the masses appreciate this fact was witnessed by the overtures made by the German and French socialists in 1871 to the authorities protesting against the war that was then imminent. In a more recent excitement in Germany over a possible outbreak, the German Workingmen's Congress sent fraternal greetings to their fellow-artisans in France and pledged non-participation in the possible hostilities. Moreover, the German socialists have promised to return Alsace and Lorraine to France when they come into power, in this way seeking to remove what otherwise might prove a temptation to violence and bloodshed.

The citizens of Marseilles, under the influence of the socialistic propaganda, objected when a public reception was to have been tendered by the municipality to a conqueror returning to Dahomey. Intelligent working-people, as they read history, realize to some extent that their order has suffered more than any other from military convulsions. They know that at Durham, in 1346, there fell fifteen thousand men ; at Halidonhill and Agincourt, twenty thousand each ; at Butzen and La Ponta, twenty-five thousand each ; at Austerlitz, Jena, and Lützen, thirty thousand each ; at Eylau, sixty thousand ; at Waterloo and Quatre Bras, one engagement, seventy thousand ; at Borodino, eighty thousand ; at Fontenoy, one hundred thousand ; at Charmouth, one hundred and fifty thousand ; at Châlons, more than three hundred thousand ; and they need no one to tell them that Marius destroyed in battle one hundred and forty thousand Gauls ; that Julius Cæsar blotted out

three hundred and sixty-three thousand Helvetians; and that at another time he massacred some four hundred and thirty thousand Germans; and that most of these warriors who were cut off in the prime of life fell victims to the ambition of conquerors and kings, and were drawn from the ranks of the peasantry and from the honest, plodding artisan classes. Why then should they for one moment do anything that would encourage hostilities?—they are always the losers. From them the sacrifices are demanded, and from their hard earnings the taxes are collected by which great generals are paid and ransoms and indemnities are furnished. They are invariably the victims. They know it; and as Kant surmised, they will not long continue meekly to surrender themselves to butchery, besides putting their hands in their pockets to pay the bill. Sidney Smith, in the "Edinburgh Review," has given a graphic account of England's taxation, mainly incurred through her conquests for empire:

Taxes upon every article which enters the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the feet; taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste; taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion; taxes upon everything on the earth, and in the waters under the earth; taxes on everything that comes from abroad or is grown at home; taxes on the raw material and upon every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man; taxes on the sauce that pampers man's appetite and the drug that restores him to health; on the ermine which decorates the judge and the rope which hangs the criminal; on the poor man's salt and the rich man's spice; on the brass nails of the coffin and the ribbons of the bride. Taxes we never escape; at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay. The schoolboy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle upon a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring

his medicine which has paid seven per cent. into a spoon that has paid fifteen per cent., flings himself back upon his chintz bed which has paid twenty-two per cent., makes his will on an eight pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of a hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is immediately taxed from two to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble, and then he is gathered to his fathers—to be taxed no more.

While this may be extravagantly put, nevertheless it presents the case of the laboring man against war; the more intelligent he becomes, the more clearly he perceives what strive involves. The more deeply he feels the losses entailed, the stronger will grow his intense antagonism to this method of settling international disputes, and the more certain will the doom of the war-god become.

I am further convinced that his days are numbered; because there is an increasing belief that law should reign supreme between all civilized communities, and that questions between empires and governments should be settled by adjudication, just as they are determined by civil courts when the interests of individuals are concerned. And there is a growing impression that the supremacy of law in municipalities and commonwealths will never be fully attained until it is equally recognized by the great powers of the earth in their international complications. Sully, in his "Memoirs," writes:

Why must we always impose on ourselves the necessity of passing through war to arrive at peace, the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourse is had to war

only for want of a better expedient? Nevertheless, we have so effectually confounded this truth that we seem to make peace only that we may be able to again make war.

The world has not always been so indifferent to this reasoning as we may suppose; for about the year 1124 B. C., twelve Greek tribes established the celebrated Amphictyonic Council, which met twice a year for the purpose of protecting the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and that they might arrange any quarrels among themselves on an intelligent and equitable basis. This early effort to avoid and avert violence was not entirely successful, but, at the same time, it must have conduced toward the education of the Greeks, and served to promote the love of order and justice for which they were at that period somewhat celebrated; nor can any one tell how many fierce brawls the approaching session of the council may have prevented. Later on, there was established in Europe, for a little while, the famous Truce of God, and during its continuance the possibility of acting on the principles suggested by Sully was fully demonstrated; and from this experiment, and from others, there has developed during the past hundred years a conviction that nearly all international questions can be settled peacefully by arbitration. Vattel calls this, "A reasonable and natural mode of deciding such disputes as do not directly interest the safety of a nation." Examples of its efficacy have been furnished by recent history, and encourage us to believe in its success were it applied more generally. For instance, the privateer "General Armstrong" created a case between the United States and Portugal, which was determined by arbitration. Also, in 1818 British and

American negotiators arranged the disputed points regarding the North American fisheries. In 1827 they agreed to settle claims relating to the Pacific coast. In 1842 they determined the vexed question of boundary lines between the State of Maine and the English possessions. In 1846 they adopted the forty-ninth parallel as a compromise line between the two Columbias, and recognized the right of Great Britain to the whole of Vancouver's Island. And in 1872 they composed the difficulties growing out of the "Alabama's" depredations, and did not even come to blows over the Fenian raids into Canada, which easily might have provoked bloodshed.

Thus, in all these instances there has been demonstrated the possibility of adjudicating grave issues, and thereby the authority of law has been exalted over communities as well as individuals. Every achievement of this character, and notably the one that averted conflict between Great Britain and the United States on the Venezuelan issue, is a distinct gain to good government the wide world over. Every magistrate's court has been rendered more sacred because of these examples; and the humblest tribunal has been strengthened thereby in the exercise of its legitimate functions. They have also developed a higher and clearer sense of obligation; and were they to become the rule of international action and not the exception, men would realize that they ought not to avenge themselves by their knuckles or pistols, nor commit acts of reprisal in retaliation, nor blow up a neighbor's house because of the inequalities of fortune, nor rush into anarchy with a vague hope of establishing order by the persuasive force of dynamite.

Were the pugilism of nations to terminate, the pugilism of individuals would come to an end as well; and if countries desired still to employ brute force, they would at once be set down as backward in civilization and hardly worthy of courtesy and recognition.

Passion is always possible, especially when we "live in the midst of great passion plays." It is not difficult to fight. Instinctively man defends himself and assails his neighbor if personal wrong has been inflicted. In a moment, when provoked, lessons of ages are forgotten. What has been slowly taught regarding the sacredness of right and the solemn importance of law is readily overlooked when the soul is roused by a tempest of indignation to avenge itself upon an adversary. Society continually suffers from these outbreaks. While professors and clergymen, in lecture hall and pulpit, are extolling the beauties of constitutional government, there are discontented and reckless thousands who in secret are preparing their explosives, and who, having been educated by a long succession of warlike deeds, are only waiting for an opportunity to bring to an end the existing inequalities of life by some kind of tragical catastrophe. It is not a hard task to arouse the mob for the lynching of the suspected. The old barbarism is not quite dead; and it is a comparatively easy thing to bring to the front the semi-brutal spirit of our ancestors. In conclave and council, men are plotting to right their wrongs by violence; and when great nations appeal to the sword, they are not only determining an immediate question in a very senseless way, but they, by their example, are stirring up the lawless elements that are secretly fermenting within their own boundaries.

Hence, after the battle of Waterloo, it is stated that England was cursed with agitations growing into riots. We know that the surrender of France at Sedan was succeeded by the monstrosities of the Commune at Paris; and even the end of the Civil War in the United States was characterized by manifold schemes to plunder the treasury at Washington and by divers acts of retaliation inflicted by White Caps and Ku-Klux; and, indirectly, the dynamite atrocity in Chicago may have grown from the same spirit of recklessness.

As military operations are in the nature of things inimical to the reverence due to civil law, we should not forget that law, born of the religious spirit, has tended to soften the asperities and to mitigate not a few of the horrors of war. Of this we have many striking evidences. Greece and Rome were hostile to all neighboring peoples, and these peoples were in a state of chronic conflict among themselves. The recognition of blood relationship seemed hardly to have any place in the ancient past. The ruling theory was that each nation was autochthonic, rose mysteriously from its native soil, and was complete in itself and peculiarly and specially privileged by its gods. The conquered provinces of the Roman Empire had no share in the central government, and no voice in appointing their own magistrates. The Spartans would not receive the conquered Peloponnesians as members on their community, but reduced them to the condition of helots. The result of this narrow and savage policy was that they condemned themselves to political stagnation; for they were compelled to live as warriors, continually guarding themselves against possible insurrection.

The Athenians erred in the same direction; for they never bestowed a thought on those whom they had subdued, and were always unwilling to make them part of their free communities. Being oppressed by bonds and taxes, unity was impossible, and anything like homogeneity in the population was rendered impracticable.[1] The utter lack of fraternity converted the world into a lair of wild beasts, where kingly animals were perpetually at each other's throats. Persia attacked Greece because she impeded her way to the West. Rome assailed Carthage because she would not tolerate a rival on the Mediterranean. Even in times of avowed peace, if vessels were wrecked, the crew and passengers, with all the property rescued, were at the mercy of the finder, he having the privilege of selling into slavery beings like unto himself.

Contrasting the present with the past, we discern that a great change has been wrought. Stranded vessels are no longer legitimate objects of plunder, and seamen and passengers delivered from the stormy seas can no longer be sold into bondage. Instead of depredations committed on the unfortunate mariner, saving stations and lighthouses have been established and perform their gracious service for aliens as well as for friends. War is not now the pastime of kings. It is dreaded by imperial rulers themselves, so that, however armed to the teeth the vast powers of Europe may appear, they hang reluctantly back, each one hesitating to jeopardize fame and fortune by stirring up the fighting passions of their soldiers. How are we to explain the transformation that has taken place? Evidently it is

[1] Dr. Ihnes' "Rome," and Grotius' "Greece."

due to the fact that there has slowly been evolved from the experience of ages the great principles of international law by which the intercourse of governments is regulated, which curb and restrain at various points the ambition of rulers, and which tend to mitigate the fierceness of contending armies. International law is making for actual brotherhood between the nations.

Writers like Blackstone and Grotius attribute this change to the influence of Christianity, and Chancellor Kent takes practically the same view. Ward, an eminent authority, writes: "The most weight is to be attributed to the intimate alliance of the great powers as one Christian community"; that is, he intimates that from the existing regulations which render outbreaks less frequent, there is developing the spirit of fraternism by which the various parts of our world shall finally be joined together. The more fully this expectation is brought home to the thought and conscience of the people, and the more clearly they see that it is the natural outcome of law, the more completely will they be devoted to the maintenance of law's supremacy; and it requires no prophet to see that, just in proportion as this determination grows and governs, the war-god must succumb.

That the end of his reign is approaching seems to be the natural inference from the recent *entente cordiale* established between Great Britain and the United States. To this is to be attached more importance, because it is not the result of sagacious diplomacy, but of providential occurrences. When President Cleveland's message aroused painful apprehensions, the pulpits of both lands, with singular unanimity, protested against jeopardizing

liberty and civilization by what in reality would have been fratricidal strife. Efforts were made to compose the then existing misunderstanding by the establishment of a court of arbitration. The plan was rejected by the United States Senate. But the agitation of the subject had led the citizens on both sides of the Atlantic to consider the ties uniting them, and has quickened in them the sense of kinship. This feeling has manifested itself in a special manner during the conflict between the United States and Spain. At the opening of Her Majesty's Theatre in London, a new verse was attached to the national anthem. It is repeated here because of its significance:

Lord, let war's tempests cease;
Fold the whole world in peace
  Under thy wings;
Make all the nations one,
All hearts beneath the sun,
Till thou shalt reign alone,
  Great King of kings.

The sentiment was received with great enthusiasm, particularly because the audience perceived that it embodied the aspiration of Great Britain for friendship with the republic across the sea. This feeling has likewise been intensified by the address delivered by the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain at Birmingham.[1] This statesman evidently perceived that the substantial unity between the two nations would tend to the exten-

[1] This chapter was in type before the memorable letter of the Czar of Russia to the nations asking for a conference to consider disarmament was issued. Whatever may be its immediate result this remarkable step must help on the desired consummation.

sion of commerce and to the ultimate promotion of the arts of peace.

His theory has found acceptance on this side of the Atlantic, because England manifested unmistakably that her sympathies were with her children in their determination to give freedom and wholesome government to Cuba—that island which for centuries has presented the pitiable spectacle of what misgovernment of colonies can effect, and what superstitious ecclesiasticism can accomplish. The wail of the wretched reconcentrados has naturally appealed to the sympathy of Christian England, as it has to the heroism of Christian America. Robert Southey expressed very admirably the sentiment that is now dominant: "God forbid that the family feeling should be lost also! Nations are too ready to admit that they have natural enemies. Why should they be less willing to believe that they have natural friends?" Events have been creating the impression that the natural friends of America are the English, and that the natural friends of England are the Americans. Professor Silliman, of Yale, once wrote: "For Americans of education and reflection, England is what Italy and Greece are to the classical scholar, what Rome is to the Catholic, and Jerusalem to the Christian world." Unquestionably this is true, but it is also true that America is to England the practical demonstration of the value of her own theories of civil and religious liberty. By traditions, by speech, by faith, as well as by blood, they are intimately allied; and "what God has joined together, let no man put asunder." The poet-laureate of England has expressed the hope of all future time in his now celebrated lines:

Aye, fling them out to the breeze,
Shamrock, and thistle, and rose ;
And the star-spangled banner unfurl with these,
A message to friends and foes,
Wherever the sails of peace are seen, and wherever
the storm wind blows.

A message to bond and thrall to awake ;
For wherever we come, we twain,
The throne of the tyrant shall rock and quake,
And his menace be void and vain ;
For you are the lords of the young strong land, and
we are lords of the main.

With the spirit of which such verses are born, the majority of the great Powers are unacquainted. Russia has no sympathy with it, nor Austria, nor Germany. These imperial governments are to be found on the side of coercion and suppression, if they do not always identify themselves with the activities of positive oppression. Germany upheld the position of the Transvaal Boers, as the Boers have a touch of despotism at the heart of their republic ; and wherever a sovereign power rules in arbitrary fashion over its distant colonies, it is sure of kindly consideration on the part of its autocratic friends. England is the notable exception to this rule. Wherever she has planted colonies, there freedom prospers, and there the missionary untrammeled exerts his influence on behalf of religious enlightenment. She belts the globe with popular institutions, and following her drum-beat, ever march the richest blessings of civilization. Consequently she is one of the very few countries to which we of America can extend our hand without ignoring our own convictions or belying our own political conscience. While the military administra-

tions of the old world are related to each other by wavering alliances in which fear, force, and fraud act as prominent regulators, England and America can stand together on the common platform of faith and freedom.

If they will do this their union will impart hope to the persecuted Semites of the Continent, encouragement to the Stundists of Russia, and will strengthen the cause of peace throughout the earth; for it has been repeatedly said during the past few weeks that were their armies blended together and were their navies to sweep the seas, it would be tantamount to a declaration that hostilities everywhere must come to an end. It is not conceivable that any combination could resist their consolidated armies and navies. The meteor flag of England and the starry flag of America floating side by side on Atlantic and Pacific seas would be a guaranty to the oppressed that the day of deliverance need not tarry. It is incredible that any European power would undertake to war upon them, and it is more than probable that the result of their affiliation would be the almost immediate disarmament of Europe.

Statesmen in the Old World are neither blind nor indifferent to this possibility. Consequently press criticisms have been frequent since the address of Mr. Chamberlain; and Bismarck is reputed to have sneered at the claim that the peoples of the British Isles and of the American Continent are in reality Anglo-Saxons. The bearing of the animadversion is hardly discernible and is of no practical worth because, after all, this is not a question of blood, but of identity of interest and of purpose. Whether the peoples in question have sprung from a common stock or not is of small moment;

but it is of the highest significance that they are one in their aspirations, in the scope of their institutions, and in the spirit of their religion. They have a common speech; they have a common inheritance; and they believe that they are to have, in a remarkable sense, a common destiny. Bismarck's criticism, however, will hardly bear the test of ethnological scrutiny. The original inhabitants of Britain were the Celts, but these were driven to the highlands and to remote portions of the country by the conquering Romans. The Romans, however, left few traces of their presence save in military works that survived long after their withdrawal. These aliens were followed by the Saxons, a tribe emanating from the north of Germany. Following them came the Danes, and these were substantially identical in blood with the Saxons. Then we have, in 1066, the Norman invasion, and Carlyle has said of these turbulent fighters that they were Saxons speaking French. They had migrated from the north of Germany about a hundred years before the battle of Hastings, and had settled in France, from whose shores they crossed the channel to conquer the motherland. Consequently the bulk of the population may fairly claim a Saxon origin, and it is not improbable that to-day even the Celts of the highlands of Scotland have interblended more or less with the same race by numerous intermarriages. But be that as it may, the Celt and the Saxon in Great Britain have become more and more homogeneous as they have affiliated through the common institutions of freedom.

North America was originally populated by the English, with a sprinkling of settlers from Sweden and Hol-

land. The Dutch and the Swedes had much in common with their fellow-exiles from England. They were, however, in the minority, and it is well known that up to within the last decade the majority of immigrants to these shores consisted of men and women from Great Britain and Germany, and the Teuton stock is not alien to the Saxon stock. So after all, Bismarck's sneer is hardly justifiable, and certainly those who have sympathized with him and who have ventured to describe our population as mongrel have not familiarized themselves with ethnological history. Substantially we are one race upon this continent, and that race has more in common with the people of Great Britain than with any other. Restored harmony between its two great sections is full of promise to mankind; for their fellowship, commercially and politically, must mean the advancement of civilization. And now that it has joined hands again; now that its English heart has found a kindred American heart; and now that its wise men are planning to guide its future in such a way that it shall no longer be subject to misconceptions, jealousies, and contentions, but shall strive in brotherly emulation for the victories of peace, we may well believe that the prophet's vision of the world's wide love shall speedily be fulfilled and the war-god be forever overthrown.

> And now that the two are one again,
> Behold on their shield the word "Refrain!"
> And the lion cubs fain sing the eagle's song:
> "To be stanch and valiant and free and strong."
> For the eagle's beak and the lion's paw,
> And the lion's fangs and the eagle's claw,
> And the eagle's swoop and the lion's might,
> And the lion's leap and the eagle's sight,

Shall guard the flag with the word "Refrain!"
Now that the two are one again.[1]

That the war-god should make one desperate effort before he passes to retain his throne is not improbable. Prof. George D. Herron has voiced this possibility when he says:

We are in the beginning of a revolution that will strain all existing religious and political institutions and test the wisdom and heroism of the earth's purest and bravest souls. It will not do to say the revolution is not coming or pronounce it of the devil. Revolutions, even in their wildest forms, are the impulses of God moving in tides of fire through the life of man.

And Heine, when in prophetic mood, declared that this century, at its close, would witness an upheaval before which the terrible scenes enacted during the French Revolution would be as child's play.

It may not be uninteresting to note that history has presented on the close of each succeeding hundred years a kind of climax in human affairs. It is as though, with the termination of a century, the struggles, trials, disappointments, and hopes of the race had to culminate in some social cataclysm or some political catastrophe. If we go back one hundred years we shall find the French Revolution and the war for Independence; if still another, we shall confront the revolution of 1686, with the accession of William and Mary and the establishment of religious toleration; and if still another hundred, we shall come face to face with the great events which led to the rise of Puritanism, whose influence has been felt on each subsequent

[1] Richard Mansfield.

period; and if yet another, we shall hear the voice of Savonarola sounding its word of warning from Florence, and the equally majestic utterances of Luther protesting against the infamies and usurpations of Romish ecclesiasticism. And so we might traverse the whole period between the present and the birth of our Lord, and we should still find each century presenting before the amazed eyes of the spectators a combination of events startling and radical, pulling down and building up, leading to a departure from the old and an inauguration of the new.

Why should we not expect a similar convolution on the close of the nineteenth century? Many things point in that direction. There are difficulties between nations apparently in every quarter of the globe. England faces France in West Africa and Russia in India and China, and as one of the British journals aptly describes it, "A new chaos seems to be impending." While we are not pessimistic nor disposed to magnify the evils of our times, we cannot be blind to the possibility of a general outbreak either before the present century closes or when we have crossed the line of the century approaching. In the Bible we have a prediction of a decisive battle to be fought, known as the battle of Armageddon. May it not be that the fatuities of nations, the blindness of statesmen, the ambition of military heroes, may precipitate that conflict? But should our supposition prove correct, we are still satisfied that as a result of the terrible slaughter, of the anguish occasioned, of the prosperity destroyed, there will come to thoughtful people everywhere a sense of the insanity of rending and tearing and overturning

and uprooting by violence, when reason and religion joining their hands could minister to the settlement of all international issues and perpetuate forever the sweet and glorious reign of peace.

We are not therefore despondent. Though we may stand on the threshold of calamities, we still hope that through them will come to mankind the settled determination that the war-god must pass and disappear forever; and when his altar fires shall be quenched, and when his mailed worshipers shall be no more, then shall the great barrier in the way of social elevation be removed. And not until "the war drum throbs no longer," and not until "the battleflags are furled," may we expect the Social State to rise, nor anticipate "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

For Christian people there is, at the present hour, but one duty—it is to be honest, upright, believing. Laboring among themselves for the development of brotherhood, they should seek by all the arts of kindness and of love to unite their fellow-beings in fraternity; they should realize that national life depends for its prosperity upon God, and that from him, and from him alone, can the dreams of universal peace and harmony be fulfilled. In these hours of anxiety, when "wars and rumors of war" fill their souls with apprehension, and when the tramp of armed men echoes on the trembling earth, and when there is for the moment manifested a renewed reliance upon force, well may they set an example to the whole earth of absolute dependence on the Almighty.

Augustus, the emperor, we are told by the historian, brought the statue of Victory, personifying the power

and destinies of Rome and formerly worshiped at Tarentum, into the curia or senate hall. There it received the votive offerings of the multitudes who believed in the military power of the empire; and it continued undisturbed even after the conversion of Constantine. The day came, however, when Ambrose the Great (382 A. D.) insisted that the adoration of the goddess was not consistent with the high professions made by Christian senators, and though Symmachus opposed him and derided him, accusing him of enmity to the arms of Rome, her influence waned and ultimately her altar was forsaken. The hour is nearly come—nay, is it not already here?—when we should learn the lesson taught by Ambrose, and no longer trust in military prowess nor idolize military success. We too should turn from the altar of Victory to prostrate ourselves before the altar of Christ, the Prince of Peace, believing that only as we do so may we hope for the favor of God upon all our plans for the salvation of the nations. It is in this spirit that Rudyard Kipling wrote his famous hymn, and his verse may serve as our "Recessional" as we turn away from the perusal of these pages:

Far-called our navies melt away—
On dune and headland sinks the fire,
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget.

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not thee in awe,
Such boasting as the Gentiles use
Or lesser breeds without the law;

Lord God of hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget.

For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And guarding calls not thee to guard ;
For frantic boast and foolish word,
Thy mercy on thy people, Lord.

Amen.

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